

**The Politics and Society of Glasgow, 1648-74**

by

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Abbreviations

This table lists common abbreviations used. Adoption of an abbreviated form for sources is also listed in respective footnotes. Full citations for all works are in the bibliography.

<u>A.P.S.</u>	<u>The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland</u> , ed. T. Thomson and C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1814-75)
Anderson, <u>Provosts</u>	Anderson, James Richard. <u>The Provosts of Glasgow from 1609-1832</u> . Compiled from notes collected by J.R. Anderson by Jas. Gourley, (Glasgow, 1942)
<u>Baillie</u>	<u>The letters and journals of Mr Robert Baillie, Principal of the University of Glasgow 1637-62</u> , ed. D. Laing, (Edinburgh, 1841-3)
Brit. Mus.	British Museum [Reference Division, British Library.]
<u>Convention Records</u>	<u>Extracts from the records of the Convention of Royal Burghs of Scotland iii, 1615-76; iv, 1677-1711</u> , ed. J.D. Marwick, (Edinburgh, 1870-80)
<u>Edinburgh Records</u>	<u>Extracts from the records of the burgh of Edinburgh, 1389-1689</u> , ed. Marguerite Wood, (London & Edinburgh, 1927-54)
<u>Eyre-Todd</u>	Eyre-Todd, George, Renwick, Robert and Lindsay Sir John. <u>History of Glasgow, 3v.</u> , (Glasgow, 1921-34)
<u>Fasti</u>	<u>Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ: the succession of ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation</u> , ed. Hew Scott, (Edinburgh, 1920)
<u>G.U.A.</u>	Glasgow University Archives.
<u>G.U.L.</u>	Glasgow University Library.
<u>Glasgow Records</u>	<u>Extracts from the records of the burgh of Glasgow, 1573-1690, 3v.</u> , ed. J.D. Marwick & Robert Renwick, (Glasgow; Scot. Burgh Rec. Soc., 1905)
<u>Hist. MSS. Comm.</u>	<u>Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts</u> , (London, 1870-)

- Kirkton, History Kirkton, James. The secret and true history of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to 1678, (Edinburgh, 1817)
- M'Ure M'Ure, John. History of Glasgow (new edition, Glasgow, 1830 1st ed. 1736)
- N.L.S. National Library of Scotland.
- N.L.S. Adv. MS. Manuscript in the National Library of Scotland from the original Advocates Library Collections.
- N.L.S. MS. Manuscript in the National Library of Scotland acquired since its establishment in 1925
- Nicoll, Diary Nicoll, John. A diary of public transactions ... chiefly in Scotland ... 1650-1667.
- R.P.C. Scot. The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, ed. J.H. Burton and others, (Edinburgh, 1877-)
- Recs. Scot. Church Hist. Soc. Records of the Scottish Church History Society (1923-)
- S.H.R. The Scottish Historical Review (1903-28, 1947- )
- S.H.S. Scottish History Society.
- S.R.A. Strathclyde Regional Archives.
- S.R.O. Scottish Record Office.
- Scot. Burgh Rec. Soc. Scottish Burgh Records Society.
- Scot. Journ. Pol. Econ. Scottish Journal of Political Economy - the Journal of the Scottish Political Economy Society.
- Smout, Enterprise Smout, Thomas C. 'The development and enterprise of Glasgow, 1556-1707' Scot. Journ. Pol. Econ., vii, 3, (1960), 194-212.
- Smout, Merchants Smout, Thomas C. 'The Glasgow merchant community in the seventeenth century' S.H.R., xlvii, (1968), 53-71.
- Spreule, John 'Some remarkable passages of the Lord's Providence towards Mr John Spreul, Town Clerk of Glasgow. 1635-64. In Maidment, Jas. (ed). Historical Fragments ... (Edinburgh, 1833)

Trans. Royal Hist.  
Soc.

Transactions of the Royal Historical  
Society, (1800- )

Wariston, Diary  
I-II-III

The diary of Sir Archibald Johnston  
of Wariston, 1632-9, 1650-4, 1655-60  
ed. G.M. Paul, D.H. Fleming and J.D.  
Ogilvie, 3v., S.H.S. pub<sup>s</sup> lxi;  
2nd ser. 18; 3rd ser. 34, (Edinburgh,  
1911, 1919, 1940)

Wodrow, History

Wodrow, Robert. The history of the  
sufferings of the Church of Scotland  
from the Restoration to the  
Revolution. ed. R. Burns, 4v.,  
(Glasgow, 1828-30) [First pub.  
Edinburgh 1721-2 in 2v. folio]

Notes on dating and currency

From 1600 onwards, the year was calculated as commencing on 1 January in Scotland. This 'New-Style' dating is used throughout this thesis.

All sums of money quoted are in Scots currency - worth approximately 1/12th sterling - unless otherwise stated.

## Abstract

This thesis sets out to study the Politics and Society of Glasgow in depth, utilising the MSS. burgh election returns and scattered information on the leading families. Glasgow has been fortunate in her rich heritage of local historians ranging from the extensive 'couthy rambles' school to scholarly and lucid works. All historians of Glasgow will be indebted to the pioneering work of the late Victorian Town Clerk, Sir James D. Marwick and his staunch assistant Robert Renwick - who incidentally appears to have undertaken much of the actual transcription of the burgh records and other documents. T.C. Smout has recently acclaimed the work of John M'Ure, an eighteenth century historian rather patronised by the Victorian sages. Early histories such as M'Ure's and Gibson's, augmented by the compendious works of the Victorian school, provide personal insights into Glasgow life often absent in formal records. The invaluable publications of the Maitland, Bannatyne and Regality Clubs, and the Scottish Burgh Records Society, Scottish History Society and a multiplicity of local groups, all add to our knowledge of early Glasgow. The most useful general history is probably the collaborative work of G.Eyre-Todd, R. Renwick and J. Lindsay. All these works are cited in the Bibliography.

However academic analysis of seventeenth century Glasgow only really emerged with T.C. Smout's excellent work on the Glasgow merchants in the 1960's, and F.N. McCoy's study of Robert Baillie and Glasgow Kirk Politics.

With the growing interest in seventeenth century Scottish history, and a reappraisal of the role of the Covenanters, a study of the key centre of the West should serve to augment knowledge of the localities. The pattern of local studies for the Civil War-Interregnum period has already been well established for England by the work of Roger Howell on Newcastle, David Underdown on Somerset, and a growing school. If fault can be found with the many published histories of Glasgow, it is that they are relatively uncritical - tending to eulogise the burgh. This study shows the ruthless power struggles and opportunism of burgh politicians, and the wretchedness of those outside the body of successful burgesses. It analyses the incessant in-fighting within the Kirk, and the struggles between Archbishops and burgh leaders for freedom of elections, throwing new light on the interpretations of Baillie and Wodrow. It confirms the views of Smout and I.B. Cowan on the practical nature of the Glasgow merchants vis-a-vis political and religious commitment, and applauds Glasgow's enterprise after 1660, with occasional reservations.

The main manuscript sources for any study of Glasgow are to be found in the Strathclyde Regional Archives, formerly the Glasgow City Archives. The Council Minutes are intact for the period, and are essential for Council election returns and domestic detail. They are more limited in political detail, but this can be gleaned from surviving commentaries by contemporaries such as Robert Baillie, John Spreule, James Burns and other diarists. Such aids are less plentiful for the Post-

Restoration period in Glasgow, although Wodrow is invaluable for West Scotland generally. The other major source for this study has been the Glasgow Presbytery Records, which have been badly damaged by fire, and are missing from 1654-60. The Pollok Maxwell Papers in S.R.A. give interesting insights into the life and affairs of a prominent local laird and associate of Glasgow's leading men.

The Register of the Committee of Estates and other Scottish Parliamentary Records held in the Scottish Record Office supplement our knowledge of Glasgow affairs both at national and local levels, as do the printed Acts of Parliament. Full details of manuscript and printed sources are provided in the bibliography.

The Introduction outlines Glasgow's environment and constitutional development, together with the institutions of the burgh. The classes of burgh society are analysed, and statistics of office-holding between 1644 and 1690 are submitted. In the Prelude, the development of faction in Glasgow between 1645 and 1648, and the emergence of the leading figures of the next decade, prepares the ground for Part One of the thesis - an examination of the struggle for Kirk and King between 1649 and 1652. These two chapters cover the ascendancy of the extreme Presbyterians in Glasgow - the Porterfield Clique - and their struggles

with the resilient patrician opposition, leading eventually to their fall at the time of the Tender of Union negotiations with the victorious English Republic. The careers of the Glasgow radicals are fascinating. They played an important part in the schism of the Kirk into Resolutioner and Protester factions - the Porterfieldians remained staunch Protesters when even the Covenanter gentry backed down. Momentarily they threatened to establish a new order in Glasgow.

Part Two covers Glasgow during the Cromwellian Union in three chapters. After 1652 the old establishment reasserted itself, reviewing the works of the radicals and stabilising the burgh economy. However a new radical force emerged, as the Porterfieldians re-grouped under the dynamic, ambitious Protester minister, Patrick Gillespie. Between 1654 and 1659 Gillespie attempted to recover civic control for the Protesters, to augment their domination of the local Kirk and the College. He failed as the conservative Council, increasingly inspired by John Bell, recaptured his power bases in a series of determined initiatives. The Bellites were secure in Glasgow well before the collapse of the Cromwellian system and the Restoration of Charles II in 1660.

Part Three covers Restoration Glasgow in four chapters and an Epilogue. The emphasis now shifts towards the restored Archbishops. In particular, the policies of the formidable Alexander Burnet, and their repercussions nationally and locally, are reviewed. Glasgow's role in the Pentland Rising reveals a small group of committed idealists, preserving some continuity with former

radicalism. Burnet's resistance to the liberal reforms of Lauderdale's group after 1667 leads to his dismissal in 1669, and the succession of the controversial Robert Leighton to the See. These events are accompanied by a series of minor revolutions in Glasgow Council politics. The failure of Leighton's Accommodation policy, and the limited appeal of the Indulgences offered by Lauderdale towards outed ministers, is accompanied by severe repression of Dissent. Despite, or because of this, minority dissent spreads among the great Glasgow merchants in intimate connection with the local Covenanter gentry around Glasgow. This growing storm is presided over in Glasgow by the restored reactionaries, John Bell and Alexander Burnet, after 1674.

The final chapter covers Restoration trade and domestic development. It departs from the normal pattern of integration of these topics within each chapter, due to the overwhelming complications of the Restoration Church Settlement and its repercussions. It is in any case fitting that a study of Glasgow should end with her merchants and developers - a very positive group of men, including representatives of all parties in the burgh and its neighbourhood. The Epilogue concludes the study of Glasgow politics, briefly tracing patterns of conflict and power through to the Revolution of 1689 and the fall of episcopacy. Appendix I lists election returns for all burgh officers and councillors from 1644 to 1674, complementing various tables in the text. Appendix II lists staple commodity prices set by the magistrates from 1638-1690, giving a very rough indication of the local cost of living. Appendix III lists the sederunts of Ruling Elders in the Glasgow Presbytery from 1644-53.

# "The Politics and Society of Glasgow: 1648-1674"

## Introduction to the Society of Glasgow: its environment, constitution and institutions

### 'The most beautiful city of the world'

The city of Glasgow, situated on the west coast of Scotland, was one of the most important and wealthiest cities in the country during the 17th century. Its strategic location on the River Clyde, which provided a direct route to the Atlantic Ocean, was a major factor in its success. The city's economy was based on trade, particularly in the textile and wool industries, and it was a major center of commerce and industry in Scotland.

The city's political and social structure was also unique. It was a burgh, a type of self-governing city that had developed in Scotland during the 15th century. The burgh system was based on a system of guilds, which were organized into a hierarchy of guilds, with the most important being the Merchant Guild. The Merchant Guild was responsible for the regulation of trade and the collection of taxes, and it was the most powerful institution in the city.

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'The most beautiful city of the world':  
An Introduction to the Society of Glasgow:  
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i) Environment

Before the rise of heavy industry based on coal and iron had generated the unplanned sprawl of the nineteenth century, Glasgow was an attractive place:

'In the Neither-ward of Clydsdale and the shire of Lanark, stands deliciously on the banks of the river Clyde, the city of Glasgow which is generally believed to be of its bigness the most beautiful city of the world, and is acknowledged to be so by all foreigners that comes thither'.(1)

Thus enthused M'Ure in 1736, and he knew the seventeenth century burgh well. His local patriotism is sustained by English travellers - a critical band - Richard Franck exclaimed 'the very prospect of this flourishing city reminds me of the beautiful fabricks and the florid fields in England'.(2) Glasgow was 'a much sweeter and more delightful town than Edinburgh, though not so big nor so rich'.(3) The gardens behind the Cathedral, cornfields along the Trongait, orchards of the Gorbals and leaping salmon of the Clyde enhanced the burgh which had grown up under the Bishop's protection above the junction of the Clyde and the burn Molendinar. Yet Glasgow was no mere bucolic village: in effect during the later seventeenth century the burgh was a boom town.

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- (1) John M'Ure, A view of the city of Glasgow ... 2 ed. (Glasgow, 1830) (first published, Glasgow, 1736) p.1. Henceforth M'Ure.  
 (2) Early Travellers in Scotland, ed. P. Hume Brown, (Edinburgh, 1891) p.193.  
 (3) Cromwelliana ... (Westminster, 1810) p.92 Army reports from Scotland - Richard Franck himself was a Cromwellian officer .

Glasgow lies within a howe, a basin almost encircled by hills and low plateaux, through which the Clyde flows as a central artery: howes are the favoured lands of Scotland. The burgh developed in a strategic position on rising ground above the lowest reliable bridge point on the river; the contrast between the hillocks (drumlins) and the Clyde flood plains being a distinctive feature of the site.(4) Glasgow was well placed as a communications centre on the routes from the South and the Ayrshire coast to the Central Lowlands, via the Nithsdale-Clydesdale pass and the Lochwinnoch gap respectively: there is no great barrier between the howe and the Forth Valley, along a natural 'trench' below the Campsie escarpment, subsequently favoured by the Forth and Clyde canal. Being off the main invasion route from England, which lay upon the Eastern Marches, Berwick and the Lothians, the burgh was isolated from the worst of the Scottish Wars. As a result the burgh had no defensive wall, although the ports were always manned in emergency. Significantly a 'trinch' was begun in 1645, only to be abandoned by 1647 with apparent victory for Scottish interests.(5) Glasgow's relative tranquillity was to be severely threatened when the burgh became of strategic significance in the struggle with the West land Whigs between 1648 and 1689. Glasgow and Ayr became the key points of the West.

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- (4) For an excellent geographical description see R. Miller 'The Geography of the Glasgow Region' In The Glasgow Region, ed. R. Miller and J. Tivy for the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1958 (Glasgow, 1958).
- (5) Glasgow Records, II, 88: 93: 95. The trench was filled in after 1653. See Ibid., 228: 263-4. See also, S.R.O., PA. 1114, f. 156.

The original focus of the city was not on the waterfront, but around the cathedral complex on rising ground north-east of Glasgow Bridge. The Bishop's influence and patronage, and the requirements of his establishment stimulated the burgh's growth as a market and service centre. He founded the University in 1451. The immediate structure of the old town can be plainly seen from map 1. From the original focus around the Cathedral, the Tounheid, the long Hie Streit(6) runs downhill, past the College, towards the secular and commercial nucleus around the Mercat Croce, Tron, and Tolbooth. The residential Drygait and Rottenrow run off from the Tounheid laterally, while the Tron - St Thenew's (Enoch's) Gait and Gallowgait lead west and east of the cross respectively.

Much of the burgh territory, as late as the 1780's, was cultivated land, with crofts running off the main streets - a burgesse's tenement might include 'biggit' land (the house) and a 'tail' of garden and arable: barns, kilns and steip-trochs for malt were usual, as many households brewed and baked. After the second great fire of 2 January 1669, (7) the use of naked lights in barns when threshing grain was banned. The College had extensive lands and a garden running down to the Molendinar. Teinds were often partly drawn in kind - ministers had teind barns - when the See was abolished by the Covenanters in 1639, the magistrates had to hire barns to store the Archbishop's teinds of grain in 1640. Relief was given

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(6) 'Hie Streit' referred to any throughfare in 17th century usage.

(7) Glasgow Records, III, 114.

to burgesses whose crops were destroyed by English troops in 1652-3.(8)

Trade and industry drew the burgh towards the river. The Saltmercat was convenient for the fish trade, and gradually the area between it and St Enoch's burn was built up. Briggait connected the High Street - Saltmercat axis with the Brig and Stockwell Street. The present city centre around George Square is well to the east of the old town: indeed these lands of Meadowflat and Ramshorn were extra burghal until the nineteenth century. This semi-rural nature of the burgh must be emphasised - such overcrowding as did exist was decreased drastically by the great fires of 1652, 1669 and 1677, which were followed by a programme of stone building and slate roofing. The real decline in the city's amenity and green space came in the later nineteenth century - the College grounds, developed as a goods marshalling yard after the move to Gilmorehill in 1871, were a sad loss in this respect, only partly compensated for by the suburban parks and the Green.

The present Glasgow Green is a remnant of the old burgh common lands. Originally there were extensive commons to the west of the city, along Broomielaw, and east above the Molendinar. During the seventeenth century large tracts were feued out to leading families, particularly the Andersons of Stobcross:(9) in compensation the burgh bought up the Flesher's haugh area east of the Bridge, which has remained a common Green. Throughout our period the

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(8) Glasgow Records, II, 218; 255.

(9) V. Infra, pp 251-2

three-part nature of the burgh - residential, arable and mercantile - must be borne in mind, together with the ecclesiastical establishment. Moreover modern industry was already embryonic, with soap, sugar, glass and candleworks, and coal mining - which has left its legacy of subsidence problems.

#### ii) Constitutional development and Jurisdictions

Similarly basic are the respective jurisdictions in the Glasgow area - the Barony and Regality; the Burgh, and the Presbytery - which have in common in our period a constitutional affinity in their evolution from the control of the Archbishop. The Archbishops of Glasgow, even under the Reformed Church, controlled vast domains, including the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr and the Synod of Galloway within their Diocese. The Presbytery of Glasgow covered the Burgh, with six charges, including a minister and separate place of worship in the crypt of the Cathedral for Barony folk who came in to worship, and some eleven parishes in outlying areas from Govan to Eaglesham south of the river, and Campsie to Cumbernauld on the north. Of course between 1639 and 1661 the Archbishopric was in abeyance, but after the Restoration Church Settlement, the restored Archbishops exercised most of their old powers, including nomination of Glasgow magistrates.

The Archbishop's authority vis a vis the Barony and Burgh, as opposed to his ecclesiastical jurisdiction is fairly complicated. As illustrated by Map II, the Barony and Regality covers an area north and south of the Clyde from Govan to Old Monkland. The Barony folk were originally the Bishop's servants as opposed to the freemen of his

burgh - whose privileges initially depended on the holding of a tenement of land in the burgh, but subsequently became associated with membership of merchant and craft incorporations. However Glasgow was indeed the Bishop's burgh - as the grant of regality (involving a widespread surrender of local jurisdiction by the crown) in 1450 underlines. (10)

The original territory of the burgesses stretched from Hamilton Hill (near the present B.B.C. - Botanic Gardens area) on the west to the Camlachie Burn on the east, and from the Clyde on the south to Possil loch on the north: some  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles in breadth and slightly less in length - a total of 1768 acres. (11) Within this, privileges of trade, including an annual fair, and government were allowed in return for keeping the King's peace. The community held its own law courts, with the three Head Courts at Yule, Pasche, and Michaelmas, where a jury of 12 or more burgesses was sworn in, and the chief magistrates (bailies) gave sasine or possession of burgage holdings and dispensed justice. However these chief officers were not elected by the community of burgesses - although the ordinary Councillors originally were. James III's charter of 15 July 1476 re-iterated the Bishop's right to appoint Provost, Bailies and Serjeant. Similarly James IV gave the Bishop permission to have a tron in his burgh. (12)

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(10) For much constitutional detail I am indebted to G.S. Pryde, 'The city and burgh of Glasgow, 1100-1750' In The Glasgow Region, op.cit.

(11) David Murray, Early burgh development in Scotland ..., (Glasgow, 1924) I, 79.

(12) The Bishopric was elevated to an Archbishopric in 1491.

Although the Bishop's influence was in the main benevolent, a growing movement for burgh independence is obvious in the 17th century, concurrent with Glasgow's development as a trading community with contacts beyond the immediate locality. The Reformation of 1560 saw Archbishop Beaton flee to France with the muniments, but by the 1590's Archbishops of the Reformed Kirk were re-established, and their symbolic ferme of the burgh - 19 merks - was reaffirmed in successive charters during the seventeenth century. Moreover the Lennox family secured strong vested interests in church lands, becoming Bailies of the Regality from 1596. Burgh organisation was stimulated by the letter of Guildry of 1605 arranging relations between merchants and crafts: this progressive element seems to have spilled over into politics, as a move was now made to secure 'free' elections for the burgh, but Lennox's faction defeated this.(13)

A new charter of 1611 declared the city to be a royal burgh - as distinct from a burgh of Regality or Barony(14) - although in fact Glasgow had attended the Convention of Royal Burghs from 1552 at least. The city

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(13) George S. Pryde, op.cit., p.142.

(14) There were three types of burgh in Scotland by the 17th century. Royal burghs were held directly of the crown and had extensive trading privileges and local jurisdiction: they were the most prestigious. Burghs of Regality involved a grant of local jurisdiction by the crown to a Bishop or Lord, intermediary between crown and burgesses. Burghs of Barony were the least independent, as the Lord had jurisdiction and tenure over the burgesses. In the later 17th century, the lesser burghs challenged royal burgh monopoly in foreign and internal trade.

now had full legal claim to its own burgh lands or 'royalty', but the Archbishop's ferme and powers of nomination remained. In an 'omnibus' charter of 1636, Glasgow's river jurisdiction from the Bridge to the Cloch stane below Gourrock was confirmed, together with its status as a royal burgh - yet again the Archbishop's ferme, powers of nomination, and the Lennox interest, survived intact.(15) The Burgh took full advantage of the abolition of episcopacy, electing its own Provost and the three Bailies on 1 October 1639.(16) But a severe setback occurred in 1641, when Charles I - on his last Scottish tour - granted James, Duke of Lennox,

'the whole temporalities of the archbishopric of Glasgow lands, barony, castle, city, burgh and regality with the right to nominate the provost, bailies and other officers, and incorporated the whole into a temporal lordship of Glasgow for an annual payment of £11 2/2 d'(17)

Quite a bargain, and enough to make the Burgh send urgent representations and bribes to London, assuring the Court of the enormity of the Lennox grant. Concessions were gained, to the extent that Lennox or his representative, had to be physically present at the Castle of Glasgow to place the nominations with the Council - otherwise they could go ahead alone. More substantially, some revenues from the former archbishopric and country churches were diverted to the burgh for the support of a minister to replace the Archbishop; repairs to the Cathedral, and

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(15) J.R. Anderson, The Provosts of Glasgow, 1609-1832 ed. J. Gourlay (Glasgow, 1942) p.11. Henceforth Anderson, Provosts.

(16) G. Eyre-Todd, History of Glasgow, (Glasgow, 1931) II, 248, 256-7. Henceforth Eyre-Todd, History.

(17) Eyre-Todd, History, II, 264.

maintenance of the schools and hospitals. Unfortunately these revenues were returned to the restored Archbishop after 1661. This was the constitutional position in Glasgow in 1645.

### iii) The Merchant and Craft Communities

The details of the corporate life of the Burgh are even more complicated, but they are essential to an understanding of burgh politics. Previous to the Letter of Guildry in 1605, tension between merchants and crafts was common. Merchants tended everywhere to regard themselves as superior to crafts or mere 'mechanic' persons. Fortunately this pretension had practical limitations in Glasgow, as the crafts were established early, to serve the Cathedral Community. Deeds of Incorporation were secured from the early 16th century, commencing with the Skinners in 1516: in all fourteen crafts eventually became incorporated. The merchants installed a President of their House in 1582, but had no Dean of Guild proper until the wrangles with the crafts led the Convention to press Glasgow to conform to 'the comely order of other free burghs' in 1595.(18) The Letter of Guildry of 1605 followed.

This was a model of its kind, and certainly aided concord between the classes. A well defined cursus honorum provided a ladder whereby an 'inferior' craftsman could - with some tenacity - scale the heights of fortune to that ultimate respectability of landed property. The

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(18) Convention Records, I, 469-470.

Letter of Guildry(19) appointed a Dean of Guild to head the Merchants' House, and a Deacon Convener of Crafts, with seats on the Burgh Council ex-officio. Although it was laid down that '... the Dean of Guild shall always be a merchant, and a merchant sailor and merchant venturer' a balance of the powers was intended, for the Dean of Guild's Council (as opposed to the Burgh Council which will be discussed below)

'shall be composed of eight persons yearly, viz. four merchants, whereof the dean of gild bearing office the year before shall be one, and four craftsmen and gild brother who shall be men of good fame, knowledge, experience, care and zeal to the commonwell, the maist worthy men of baith ranks ...'(20)

The term 'gild brother' is significant - the basic qualification for membership of the burgh was that of plain burghess. Originally a burghess qualified for enrolment by possession of a tenement of land, held of the Bishop: as trade became increasingly important, marriage ties, apprenticeship, capital and fees came to the fore. The essence of qualification was that a candidate should be known locally as competent in trading or a craft, and of moral standing - i.e. that his peers could trust him. Outsiders had to buy their way in, after close scrutiny. Local candidates for the merchant guild underwent a seven-year training often including overseas experience in the staple at Veere in the Low Countries. After apprenticeship came examination by Dean of Guild regarding trade competence, character and capital (a minimum of £8.6.8. ~~standing~~ free of debt). Relatives of

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(19) The Letter of Guildry is printed in M'Ure.

(20) Ibid., p.141.

burghesses by birth or marriage (encouraging social mobility) could then enroll on payment of a fee, and a hospital subscription. Those not connected to the Establishment had to wait two further years, losing trading opportunities.(21)

Craftsmen had to serve their apprenticeship, and satisfy their own master and incorporation regarding skill and character. This achieved, they too became burghesses: this was the democratic element of the 1605 constitution, for not every burgh accepted craft burghesses

Once enrolled, the ordinary burghess had the right to practise his trade or craft within the burgh. He also joined his respective hospital which provided a degree of social insurance for these 'freemen' of the burgh - and them alone.

However to gain entry into the privileged world of the merchant adventurers, the elite of traders in exotic silks, spices, sugar, wine, and the profitable commodities of Norwegian timber and Biscay Bay Salt, the burghess had to step up to Gild Brother rank. Again this was open to all who could meet the strict conditions of entry - first a burghess, then more experience, and more capital. As always marriage or relationship to an established gild brother helped: such ties went beyond nepotism, giving a degree of security doubly necessary in joint-stock operations

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(21) For much of this material I am indebted to two excellent articles by T.C.Smout. 'The Glasgow merchant community in the 17th century', S.H.R., xivii, (1968) 53-71 and 'The development and enterprise of Glasgow, 1556-1707', Scot. Journal of Pol. Econ., VII, (1960), 194-212. Henceforth Smout, Merchants and Enterprise respectively.

before limited liability. Burgesses had access to two lucrative avenues of capital accumulation to assist their progress to the ultimate rank - the linen peddling trade with England, and the small boat trade in hides, butter and tallow with Ireland.

Gild brother status was of course the key to the rising Atlantic trade in the later 17th century. Traditionally the bulk of Scotland's trade was with the Baltic and North Sea lands via the Staple at Veere in the Low Countries. In this respect Glasgow's position on the Clyde was a hindrance. Moreover although the burgh was relatively well-placed for the established Irish and Highland trades, her immediate neighbours, Rutherglen and Renfrew were equally so - whilst Dumbarton down-river did not have the handicap of the shallow Clyde. Yet Glasgow's enterprise was irrepressible: faced with exclusion from the North Sea trade and the Clyde shoals, the burgh operated through the outports of Bo'ness on Forth and Irvine on the Ayrshire coast respectively. As early as 1578 Bishop Lesley claimed, 'Surely Glasgow is the maist renowned market in all the west, honorable and celebrate...'.(22) When the Atlantic trade in sugar, rum and tobacco proved lucrative despite the Navigation Acts, Glasgow men built the fine deep water New Port of Glasgow in the first decade of the Restoration.

Smout has said

'the city had begun her spectacular rise to fame and wealth in the century and a half between the Reformation and the Union of

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(22) P. Hume Brown, Scotland before 1700 from contemporary documents, (Edinburgh, 1893), pp.120-1.

the Parliaments ... during this period ... Glasgow became the most interesting and progressive mercantile community in Scotland'. (23)

Smout attacks the myth that Glasgow only boomed after the Union of 1707:

'She was already a highly successful burgh which had developed in wealth and population at a greater rate than any other community in 17th century Scotland. She entered the rigorous 18th century business of competing with England in an English empire and a British common market with a remarkable confidence born of a century of success on the narrower stage of an independent Scotland'. (24)

Generations of American planters were soon to know the acumen and rapacity of the Glasgow Tobacco Lords. The men who initiated the Atlantic trade survived all the political and religious storms of the two generations from the National Covenant to the Revolution of 1689. Normally the Glasgow merchant establishment - despite a radical minority, mainly of 'incomers', managed to stay on the winning side, apart from the brief and heady rule of the Kirk Party between 1648 and 1652.

Smout's enthusiasm for the enterprise of Glasgow is borne out by the burgh's rising crown tax assessment: the respective percentages of the total paid by the leading burghs compares as follows:

<u>1612</u>		<u>1705</u>	
Edinburgh	29%	Edinburgh	35%
Dundee	11%	Glasgow	20%
Aberdeen	8%	Aberdeen	5%
Perth	6%	Dundee	4%
Glasgow	4%	Perth	4%

Glasgow gained second place in the assessment of 1670 and

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(23) Smout, Enterprise, p.194.

(24) Smout, Merchants, p.55.

never lost ground thereafter.(25) Her population doubled in the course of the century, from c. 7.6 thousand in 1609 14-15 thousand in 1691.(26) Power has claimed that it fell by 3000 during the 'Killing Time', (27) but any reduction can at least in part be attributed to withdrawal from official baptisms by the Covenanters from 1662 onwards to 1689. Smout states that the rising assessment and common good rouns show no decline in prosperity(28) and numbers.

Smout's invaluable research on Glasgow also includes an attempt to quantify social mobility - which he sees as a vital ingredient in the burgh's dynamic enterprise - by a study of the burghess rolls for the 17th century. Of his sample of 250 names

'...15% claimed cheap entry as merchant burghesses ... (and) ... 25% claimed entry as merchant burghesses because they had married the daughters of craftsmen burghesses ...'(29)

He remarks upon the flexibility of the 1605 constitution, suggesting that it

'... must in itself have assisted social mobility in some directions, and this social mobility may be an important reason for Glasgow's relative success in the 17th century; it helped the burgh to maximise business talent from the whole pool of population'.(30)

- (25) Smout, Merchants, p.53.  
 (26) Ibid. Smout's later figure is based on a rough hearth tax calculation.  
 (27) W. Power 'The rise of trade and industry' in J. Gunn and M. Newbiggin, The city of Glasgow: its origin, growth and development, (Edinburgh, 1921) p.40.  
 (28) Smout, Enterprise, p.196.  
 (29) Smout, Merchants, p.69. The burghess rolls are printed in J.R. Anderson The Merchants and Guild Brethren of Glasgow, I, 1573-1750, (Edinburgh, 1925).  
 (30) Smout, Merchants, p.69.

He does recognise the gulf between new recruits and the top people, but is impressed by the possibilities open in Glasgow society.

However more case studies of those who rose from insignificance to wealth and political power are required to build upon Smout's initiative, and substantiate the theory of social mobility as a factor in Glasgow's rise.(31) Smout does give the example of Walter Gibson, as the son of a laird who did not disdain to enter malt making to accumulate initial capital before embarking upon a lucrative career in the Norway timber trade via Cape Wrath, herring, and the Atlantic trade in sugar, rum, tobacco and men.(32) Walter became a great landowner and Provost before his fall. However, M'Ure, Smout's source, also tells us that Wattie's father, John Gibson, was himself a merchant and Provost in addition to holding the lands of Over new toun:(33) hence Walter did not initiate the Gibson movement from land to trade. Moreover he does not appear on the roll of the Incorporation of Maltmen(34) - which makes it seem less likely that he spent long enough in the trade - itself an elite of lucrative crafts - to accumulate vast capital. Walter does however perfectly illustrate the enterprise and diversity of Glasgow's magnates - and their ruthlessness.

With regard to the relative size of the merchant and craft communities in Glasgow, Smout has provided estimates

(31) V. Taffra, pp.47-8:for the career of John Grahame.

(32) Gibson shipped Covenanters to the Americas as indentured labour after Bothwell Brig. His political rival. John Anderson of Dowhill, shipped vagrants.  
V. Taffra, pp. 324-5.

(33) M'Ure, p.169.

(34) Dowie, Robert Chronicles of the Maltman craft in Glasgow, (Glasgow, 1879: 2 ed . 1895)

for the merchant rank. He has studied the intake of new merchants in the burgess rolls over five-year sample periods during the 17th century, and estimates an average annual intake of sixteen men. Calculating a life expectancy of some twenty five years after enrolment, he concludes that some 400-500 men, of whom '... an elite of perhaps thirty individuals from a score of families ..'(35) concentrated wealth and power in their hands, were merchant burgesses at any time during the 17th century.

Extending Smout's technique to cover craftsmen, between 1645-50, 227 enrolled for the first time; from 1660-65, 173; from 1675-80, 244 - giving an average of 43 new men annually.(36) The low figure for the immediate Restoration years may reflect the effect of restored discipline on the crafts after the radical - conservative factions of the later Interregnum. Adopting Smout's life expectancy of twenty-five years after enrolment, we can estimate a craft community of 1075-1100. The total craft and merchant community according to these estimates would amount to between 1475-1600. A check against these calculations is available for 1 October 1672, when the 'bodie of the burgesses, or major part of them' were involved in the electoral procedure at Archbishop Leighton's suggestion: when the merchants and crafts had convened in their respective hospitals there were 'nyne hundreth persons or thereby'.(37) Thus the figures gained using Smout's technique seem rather high, even

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(35) Smout, Merchants, p.66.

(36) These figures are gained from J.R. Anderson, op.cit. Only craftsmen enrolling for the first time as plain burgess or burgess-gild brother are included - usually burgesses became gild brethren much later, and reappear in the lists.

(37) Glasgow Records, III, 162-3.

allowing for absentees.

Nevertheless, this body of men was virtually Glasgow. Unlike Edinburgh, with its range of professional men - including a host of lawyers - resident gentry and nobility, Glasgow was very much of a merchant's town. It had of course the University and Kirk establishments, but increasingly the *raison d'etre* of Glasgow was trade. This is evident in the civic government of the burgh.

iv) The Burgh Council and Office holding

Although the merchants were less numerous than the crafts, and despite the liberal nature of the Letter of Guildry, the civic government of Glasgow was oligarchic and self perpetuating - even the radicals of the Kirk Party made no attempt to alter these fundamental principles, which alone kept control for their faction. In the first instance, the political ascendancy of the merchant rank was assured by their monopoly of the provostship: indeed only the elite of merchant adventurers were eligible - as with the Dean of Guild.(38) Of the magistrates, the two merchant bailies were senior to the craft bailie. Similarly there were always thirteen merchants to twelve craftsmen on the Council - the only exceptions to this rule occurred when outside interference in elections was enforced, the Committee of Estates nominated twelve councillors from each group in October 1645, and James VII did likewise in November 1686(39) - these may have been oversights:

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(38) Similarly, only 'merchant traffickers' could be commissioners to the Convention. Convention Records, III, 448. (24 October 1659).

(39) Glasgow Records, II, 98-100: III, 390-2.

certainly in 1645 the new Council objected, and parity was removed.

The Dean of Guild was of course always a merchant, as was the Deacon Convener of Crafts a craftsman. Of the 'inferior' or functional offices, the posts of Treasurer and River Bailie were shared between the two ranks alternately. The master of works was always a merchant to balance the craft office of Visitor of maltmen and mealmen (a food inspector). The minor and ephemeral office of Visitor of gardeners was a craft place, but when Glasgow appointed one of the Gorbals Bailies, the place alternated between the ranks. Thus seven offices were open to both ranks, but in senior office the merchants were strongly favoured.

The actual 'sett' or constitution of the Burgh was not published until 1711,(40) but the procedures then elaborated were in force during the 17th century. The election procedures absolutely underline the self-perpetuating nature of office holding. Details of various types of election, according to the involvement of Archbishop, Lennox overlord or Central Government, are given in the Prelude,(41) but the standard procedure in a 'free' election of officers and councillors by their peers (the burgh ideal) are as follows. The Provost and Bailies were elected from short lists (leets) drawn up from the merchant rank for provost and merchant bailies, and the craft rank for their bailie, by the outgoing Provost and bailies. In the absence of the Overlord, the outgoing

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(40) The Sett is printed in M'Ure, pp.160-4.

(41) V.Infra, p.51 F

Council then voted upon these leets. Provosts could serve for two consecutive terms, and bailies for one term only, before removal from the leets for two years. The traditional date of election was on the first Tuesday after Michaelmas, in early October.

On the following Friday the Council was elected by a college consisting of the new provost and bailies, plus the magistrates of the two preceding years. The leets for Council were made up from the entire old Council together with new candidates - but outgoing Councillors could not be leeted against each other, only against new men: this of course helped to perpetuate the establishment. Indeed, as the analysis of elections in this thesis will show, a change at the head of the Council almost always sufficed to purge the ranks.

On the Wednesday following the Council elections, the chief officers were chosen. The Dean of Guild and Deacon Convener were leeted from their number, and the leets presented to a college of provost, bailies, council, deacons of crafts - and sufficient merchants to balance the deacons. The Provost had first and casting vote in these elections.(42) Appropriate procedures were followed for the election of inferior officers. The Procurator Fiscal was elected annually from a leet of two presented by the Faculty of Procurators. The Town Clerk tended

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(42) The Provost's office and influence was critical in elections. In an attempt to curb this, the Council decided in October 1663 that although the Provost must remain president of the electoral college or 'preces', he should not leet candidates. See Glasgow Records, III, 18-19.

to have an extended 'tack' of office.(43) These last posts were theoretically professional rather than political - but John Spreule used his clerkship blatantly to forward the Kirk Party, and the Conservative Establishment invariably sacked him when they regained power.

To conclude this analysis of burgh elections, a rough statistical account of office holding between 1649 and 1690 is given - these figures exceed the scope of this thesis, and were prepared for a more ambitious work, but this should not detract from their value. Complete accuracy cannot be guaranteed as there are problems of identity with several families - for instance the merchant John Andersons are usually, but not always, differentiated by estate or family title - younger, elder, etc. Similarly the John Millers, maltman and mealman, and tailor, of the crafts are not always distinguished in the returns. The element of guesswork has been reduced by use of other sources and circumstantial evidence, but it remains. During our period, 41 valid elections were held, including the nominated 'election' of November 1686, but discounting the annulled election of October 1681.

The merchants had 13 places on the Council, therefore over the 41 elections, some 532 places were available for their rank (533, minus 1, for the nominated 12 of 1686). These 532 places were filled by 137 individuals, giving an average of 3.89 places per individual. Actually the range

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(43) To refresh themselves after the protracted elections, the Council enjoyed the annual 'Toun's Denner' - on 23 September 1665 they directed that 'uqlawe fines should pay for the 'denner' - with any surplus going to charity of course. Glasgow Records, III, 61.

of terms was from 19 to 1. Table I gives a more specific breakdown, and includes craft council terms.

**TABLE I** Comparative analysis of Council terms of office held by the merchants and crafts of Glasgow: 1649-1690

<u>TERMS held</u>	<u>Individuals concerned</u>	<u>% of total Councillors for Rank</u>
merchants 1	43	31.8
merchants 2-5	59	43.7
merchants 6-10	22	16.3
merchants 10+	11	8.2
crafts 1	38	28.0
crafts 2-5	74	53.4
crafts 6-10	19	13.6
crafts 10+	7	5.0

As will be seen, the first two groupings are most popular, with the merchants having a slight edge over the crafts for long service. Prominent individuals amongst the merchants include the John Andersons, elder and younger, of Dowhill, serving as councillors for 19 and 17 terms respectively. Indeed it was the Younger Dowhill who acted on behalf of the burgh in London in 1689 with regard to the procuring of free elections. Five other Andersons held Council places. Frederick Hamilton rivalled the Dowhills, with 19 terms on the council, and 3 other Hamiltons held places. The Campbells of Blythswood were represented by 7 individuals, of whom James Campbell was to the fore with 16 terms. Also prominent were Hugh Nisbit with 15 terms and John Walkinshaw with 12.

Ordinary council service was of course less prestigious than office as provost, baillie, or even 'functional' officer, but the offices of dean of guild and deacon convener had their own prestige and patronage. Of the 13<sup>5</sup> merchants

represented on the Council from 1649-1690, 74 (54%) had official posts, and the breakdown is as follows.

TABLE II MERCHANT OFFICE HOLDING 1649-1690

<u>Post</u>	<u>Individual Holders</u>
Provost	12 persons
Baillies	47 merchants occupied the <u>2</u> places
Dean of Guild	21 persons
Master of Work	9 persons
River Baillie	13 merchants shared with 8 craftsmen
Treasurer	17 " " " " 20 "

The leading lights concentrated on higher office, although John Barnes, elder - a dedicated careerist who adhered to the Provostship despite bankruptcy - accepted the post of River Bailie at the onset of his career, and the Dowhill Andersons, who were above pretension, accepted the heavy duties of functional posts. More typical was William Anderson of Stobcross, who preferred being Provost - out of 14 terms on the Council, he had 9 as Provost. Sir John Bell had 10 terms as Provost, 2 as dean of guild, and only a trifling 8 on the Council. The least popular office may well have been Master of Work, judging by the lack of competition that Thomas Bogle (7 terms) and George Campbell (11 terms) had between 1666 and 1681.

Among the craftsmen, 138 individuals (a total surprisingly similar to that of the 137 merchants) held office over the 41 elections, sharing 492 places, at 12 per annum, giving an average of 3.56 places per person - slightly less than the merchant 3.89. The range is identical to that of the merchant rank - from 19 to 1. The sample groups breakdown can be seen in TABLE I - as with the merchants,

the majority held 2-5 terms, but the craftsmen are less numerous in the long service groups. It is possible to identify individual trades from information in the returns, and from the lists of trades council membership in the Trades House Minutes.(44) The trades of 86 of the 138 craft councillors have been discovered, as listed below.

TABLE III Trades of Craftsmen Councillors: 1649-1690

Maltmen	20	Coopers	3	Litsters	1
Tailors	16	Fleshers	3	Tanners	1
Hammermen	12	Masons	3	Weavers	1
Cordiners	7	Skinners	3		
Wrights	7	Bakers	2		
Surgeons	6	Glovers	1		

The weavers have a surprisingly low representation, in view of their general activism, but this may well be because the activity was concentrated in Gorbals and Calton, outside the burgh. Maltmen and tailors are very prominent, as has been remarked previously. The influence of the maltmen will be considered later, as they are an elite of crafts,(45) and the Visitors to the trade in 1681 and 1682 refused to take the Test. Prominent individuals include James Colqhoun, wright, with 19 terms on the council, and the John Millers, maltman and tailor, with 19 terms each.

Of the 138 craftsmen represented on the Council during our period, 61 served as officers (some 44%, rather less than the 54% of merchants). The range of office terms is from 12 to 1, and the breakdown of persons occupying the

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(44) Records of the Trades House of Glasgow: 1605-1678, ed. Harry Lumsden, (Glasgow, 1910) The lists after 1661 give trade: the records for 1678-1713 are missing.

(45) See the later Interregnum chapters for the influence of the maltmen William and Walter Neilson.

5 posts for which I have figures is as follows.

TABLE IV CRAFT OFFICE HOLDING: 1649-1690

<u>Post</u>	<u>Individual Holders</u>
Deacon Convener	18
Baillie	22 held the craft place
Treasurer	20 shared with 17 merchants
River Baillie	8 " " 13 "
Visitor of Maltmen & Mealmen	15

The Deacon Convener'ship was the craft equivalent of Dean of Guild: he chaired a 'trades council' of the deacons of the incorporated crafts. Manasses Lyall, with 6 terms between 1651 and 1668, when he died in office, was the leading figure in the first half of our period. In the late 1650's controversy over the post divided the crafts into factions, offering a documented insight into craft politics.(46) Surprisingly, James Colquhoun served as a councillor for 19 terms; baillie for 6 terms and treasurer for 1 term, without ever becoming deacon convener.

Summarising the representation of merchants and craftsmen in relation to their respective ranks, and the whole body of the burgh, we find that 137 merchants out of a community of perhaps 400-500 at any time in our period, and 138 craftsmen out of a community of perhaps 1100, were involved in public office. Add to this total the 18 persons not on the Council lists who held office,(47) and

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(46) V. *Infra*, pp. 177-8; 181-3.

(47) My statistics are based on Council representation in the first instance, thus Glasgow men who were not on the Council during the period covered are not included - although they may have been officers.

a grand total of 293 individual office holders and councillors is estimated, for a population of 10-12000. Some 1024 places were available on the council all told, plus some 400 places for the ten offices for which I have figures, totalling 1424 places to be shared among our 293 individuals for the period. This shows the narrowness of representation, but it was typical among burghs.

The Council legislated for every aspect of burgh life - they fixed basic food prices annually; they maintained ministers and kirks; they secured justice and discipline; schools and newsletters; the halt and the lame. Occasionally they aided the poor. The Provost represented the burgh in Parliament and at the Convention of Royal Burghs.

As for rewards, the politicians served out of a combination of local patriotism and self interest. It was prestigious to be on the Council; it was the 'duty' of every prominent man of business to arrange local government in the interest of his family, class and enterprise. These were sufficient rewards, and if there were indeed 'perks' to be had in the disposition of the excise ferme, or teinds, there was always an eager band of public spirited vigilantes - usually political opponents - to draw attention to default. A survey of the burgh accounts accompanied every major change in burgh government in the period 1648-74, which was one of unusual conflict and acrimony in burgh politics. Land transactions were not subjected to such intense scrutiny - it was common practice for leading magnates to sell or purchase lands in

association with their colleagues on the Council.(48)

v) The Burgh Courts and Discipline

Justice in the Burgh was served at four main levels - the Head Courts, Burgh Civil Court, Dean of Guild Court and the Commissariat Court. In addition the Kirk Sessions and Presbytery acted as courts. The ancient Head Courts of Michaelmas, Yule and Pasch had lost their original right to elect magistrates by an act of 1469, but the assembly of burgesses on the Symmerhill still had important functions. Here the acts of the Town Council were confirmed; new burgesses received; oaths taken, and property transactions confirmed.

The everyday court of the Burgh was the Civil Court held by the Bailies, and occasionally, the Provost. They dealt with cases of fraud and non-payment of rents and commercial accounts; burgh rentals; and cautionary enactments, whereby deals were secured by a guarantor.(49) From 1663-1677 a Justice of the Peace Court was held - it seems to have covered petty slanders, crime and moral offences, and was held by the Provost and Bailies every Saturday in the Tolbooth. It was a pale replica of the English J.P. establishment, and may have been on an experimental basis. Some idea of the trivial nature of

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(48) See John R. Kellett 'Property speculators and the building of Glasgow: 1780-1830'. Scot. Journ. Pol. Econ., viii, 211-32 & 'The Private investments of Glasgow's Provosts' The Accountants' Magazine, Nov. 1968, 598-603 for later material on this theme. Kellett's pamphlet Glasgow, (Historic towns series, I, Oxford, n.d.) p.7, has interesting comments on land holding in Glasgow.

(49) The Diet Books of the Burgh (Civil) Court from 1657-74 are available at S.R.A., B1/1/5-8.

its work may be gained from a case of 1 January 1664, when Rot. Findlaysone, cordiner, complained

'agt Andrew Mannie cordoner for pisching in ane stoup and offering the samayne to severall men to drink. The defender at the barr confest the same and (was) therfor fyned in fourtie merkes monye ...'.(50)

The Dean of Guild Court covered all questions of neighbourhood and surveying within the burgh, and the activities of the merchant community. The Deacon Convener's Council covered craft discipline. These were probably the busiest courts in Glasgow, although the Presbytery rivalled them - especially after the triumph of the Kirk Party in 1648, and again with the campaigns against dissent during the Restoration. The Commissariat Court of Glasgow, originally established as the Bishop's Court, was put under the direction of a lay official - the Commissary of Glasgow - after the abolition of the See in 1639. The Court remained thus after the Restoration, and attracted business from the Burgh Court - its main function was to cover probates and wills, but in August 1605, the magistrates found that plaintiffs were using the Commissary because the burgh officers were lax in impounding offenders' goods. It was regarded as 'a great discredit to the toun'(51) to see burgesses being subjected to decreets of the Commissary.

#### vi) Charities and Education

The merchant and craft hospitals were the most effective charities in Glasgow, but they only barely covered their

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(50) S.R.A., 83|2 Justice of Peace Court Records, 1663-77 (under date)

(51) Glasgow Records, III, 94.

'own'. For the body of poor and sick outside their ambit, the Kirk and Town Council had to provide. In the case of 'strainger' poor from outside the burgh, no relief was offered: great efforts were made to keep lists of the burgh's own poor, and regular purges of interlopers were launched. The Kirk in our period made conscientious efforts to secure a steady poor rate, badgering the Council when collections at the Kirk door were lacking. The Council made intermittent donations to deserving poor. The lepers had a hospital in Gorbals, but the main auxiliary to the guild hospitals was Hutcheson's Hospital founded by the brothers George and Thomas between 1639 and 1641. This institution catered for old men and boys, but it encountered difficulties soon after it opened because of Argyle's failure to pay the interest on debts due to the Hospital. The Hutcheson brothers incidentally illustrate an interesting connection between the professions and landed estates in Glasgow. Thomas Hutcheson senior advised his lawyer sons to buy 'the cheapest and best halden arable land they can get to buy ... near to the burgh of Glasgow' (52) and George acquired great estates all around the city.

Education in the city was at three levels - song school; grammar school and University, or college. The Council did their best to subsidise and supervise the song schools or Kirk schools - which were part of the old Cathedral establishment. In 1626 James Saunders had been commissioned to instruct children in music, at a

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(52) Hutcheson's Hospital and its founders, (Glasgow, 1914), f.1.

salary of ten shillings per quarter - a meagre income supplemented by a post as Reader at Tron Kirk. But by 1638 his establishment was 'to the grait discredit of this citie ...'(53) and he was replaced. Limited resources were utilised to the full: in 1606 the single master of the Grammar School, Mr John Blackburn, received an initial payment in burgess entry fines, and only after a struggle did he receive a salary of 40 merks.(54) By the 1620's facilities and staffing at the Grammar School had been expanded, but throughout the poverty of the nation is reflected in the difficulties of provision - both for the poor and education. The philosophy of thrift and self-help must be taken as basic, but as always, one can contrast it with lavish receptions in the City Chambers.

This then was the rising burgh of Glasgow - the themes now introduced will be expanded at length in the following chapters, generally on a chronological basis. Emphasis will be concentrated on the merchant and craft community in the Council, and their Kirk - that 'fundamental'. Glasgow's role as the leading town in South West Scotland during a critical period of Scottish history will be analysed in the light of insights gained into the political and social structure of the burgh. In parallel, the effects of 'national' policy on the burgh will be considered.

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(53) Glasgow Records, I, 354; 388.

(54) Glasgow Records, I, 246; 310.

# "The Politics and Society of Glasgow: 1648-1674"

## Prelude: The formation of parties in Glasgow, 1645-48

The formation of parties in Glasgow, 1645-48, was a process shaped by the political and social changes of the mid-seventeenth century. The city's political landscape was dominated by the House of Commons, which had been established in 1643. The House was divided into two main factions: the 'Whigs' and the 'Tories'. The Whigs were generally more liberal and supported the rights of the individual, while the Tories were more conservative and supported the authority of the monarchy. The House of Commons was also divided into two main groups: the 'Whigs' and the 'Tories'. The Whigs were generally more liberal and supported the rights of the individual, while the Tories were more conservative and supported the authority of the monarchy. The House of Commons was also divided into two main groups: the 'Whigs' and the 'Tories'. The Whigs were generally more liberal and supported the rights of the individual, while the Tories were more conservative and supported the authority of the monarchy.

The political situation in Glasgow at the end of 1648 reflected the ascendancy of the extreme Covenanters in the nation. A determined cell of radicals controlled the Council, headed by George Porterfield, John Grahame, and John Spreule. In order to understand the politics of the Interregnum a brief analysis of the years 1645-48 is essential, for it was during those years that critical party alignments developed within Glasgow society, over the reception of Montrose, and the Engagement to rescue Charles I from the English Independents.

The rise of faction in Glasgow is clearly illustrated in the election returns for the Council. Table VI(1), which is basic to this study, attempts to quantify fluctuations in burgh politics by analysing the returns. It lists the turnover in personnel between elections from 1644-1660: a similar list will be given for Restoration politics. The figures are based on the total numbers of councillors and officers returned(2), including provost, bailies and inferior or 'functional' officers. Some 35 places had to be filled at each election - although the number of actual office holders varies because while councillors could double as inferior officers, the constitution allowed that

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- (1) Table VI is appended to this Prelude.
- (2) The authoritative sources for election returns are the Mss. Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow, (S.R.A., C 1/11-18 covers the period 1642-1693). The printed Glasgow Records previously quoted list all officers returned, but seldom councillors. The district of Gorbals had two bailies on the Glasgow Council after the teinds were purchased in 1650, and one bailie after formal annexation in 1661: however these officers are not included in the statistical analysis here.

'if either the dean of guild, deacon-convener, treasurer, or master of works, or all of them ... shall happen to be chosen of persons not on the town council, they, by their election, become extra-ordinary councillors'

In fact during highly significant elections in this period up to five such officers were returned, stretching the letter of the constitution: it was an obvious extension to the packing of the Council.

Table VI also discloses whether elections were 'free', 'nominated', or 'controlled'. Free elections were those in which provost and bailies were returned by their peers in council. In nominated elections, these officers were selected by the Archbishop (or the lay overlord in his absence) from leets presented by the burgh electoral preces: in the extreme case of Archbishop Alexander Burnet the provosts were nominated directly, and only the bailies were chosen from leets. Obviously the optimum time for free elections was between 1638 and 1661 with the abolition of episcopacy, and the Lennox overlords absent in England and France, or in a minority. Indeed out of a total of eleven free elections held in the burgh between 1639 and 1690 (when the Archbishop's influence was finally eliminated), ten occurred between 1639 and 1661(3): of these ten, four came between 1639 and 1644. However after 1645 there was so much manipulation of the election, not only of officers, but of whole councils, that the concept of 'free' elections seems scarcely relevant: such elections are referred to as 'controlled'. The problem

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(3) The election of October 1672 was virtually 'free', so tactful was Leighton's administration. See Glasgow Records, III, 162-163

became one of whether any elections at all were to be allowed at several points. Yet the issue of free elections mattered sufficiently for burgh leaders (who themselves often collaborated in controlled elections) to evade the interference of Lennox representatives at every opportunity: such was burgh pride and protocol. The close scrutiny of elections, substantiated by literary evidence where possible, gives a real insight into the politics of the chief men of the burgh: for lesser figures and camp followers, the election returns are the only - if rather speculative - guide to affinities.

The burgh politics of the 1640's become obviously divisive following Montrose's descent on Glasgow after his victory at Kilsyth in August 1645. The magistrates had to deal with a practical emergency, and their circumspect reception of Montrose helped preserve the town from sack. It is doubtful that the burgh leaders cooperated with Montrose out of pure malignancy (the polemical term for reactionary royalist sympathies). His force of 'wild Irish' and Highlanders was regarded as barbaric - a common enemy to all douce burgh folk, to be appeased when resistance was too dangerous. Unfortunately for the 'collaborators', and the peace of the burgh in years to come, their appeasement brought the wrath of the Committee of Estates on their heads - after Montrose had been safely defeated at Philiphaugh. In late September the burgh had to find the vast sum of £20,000 demanded by the Estates.

It was raised by loans from some 98 local subscribers.(4) The list does not include members of the nascent Porterfield clique, for Porterfield and others were still with the Army in England, but significantly Grahame and Spreule had already quarrelled with the magistrates.(5) Measures to repay the subscribers were only taken in 1653 when the conservative group were secure in burgh office.(6)

Such security was entirely lacking in October 1645 when the Council was purged by the Committee of Estates at the Earl of Lanark's command, and George Porterfield, an energetic soldier for the Solemn League, was installed as Provost.(7) Some 31 places changed hands in this 'election', and there were five extra-ordinary councillors returned. Protocol was further strained by the Estates' nomination of only twelve councillors and a single bailie for the merchant rank, who normally had an extra councillor and two bailies to give them an edge over the crafts. This oversight was redressed on 21 October after a formal protest.(8) All told, the Estates' interference now created a precedent for all the manipulations of the Council which were to follow in succeeding years.

Such a thorough purge suggests collaboration between

(4) S.R.A., C 1/11. Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow, 20 September 1645.

(5) V.Infra, p.34.

(6) Glasgow Records, II, 264; 274; V.Infra, p.119.

(7) Glasgow Records, II, 80-84. Anderson (Provosts, p.16) errs in stating that Porterfield became Provost despite his not having been on the previous Council. In fact he appears in the MS list of councillors elected in 1644, although he was frequently absent on war duty. Although a relative 'outsider', he had been a bailie as early as 1639. V.Infra, pp. 47-8.

(8) Glasgow Records, II, 87.

the Estates and Porterfield's group, and John Spreule freely admits this. In fact it would seem as if Spreule and Grahame were primarily responsible for the proscriptions. They had joined David Leslie's force which defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh, and were thus in an ideal position from which to petition the Committee of Estates for redress of 'the sad condition of the honest people in Glasgow' by pressing that malignants 'might be removed fra being magistrates'.(9) Porterfield apparently knew nothing of this, being on his way home from service with the main army in England: he was 'named Provost without in the least being privy thereunto untill he is desired to accept of it'.(10) Nicoll says plainly that the dismissed officers were accused of malignancy 'be thair awin nyctboures quha haitted thame, and socht thair places and offices'.(11) Certainly Spreule received a plum reward when he was made Town Clerk in place of Henry Gibson, who was tainted with malignancy merely for officiating in the negotiations with Montrose.(12) Nicoll's opinion was certainly shared by the dismissed Provost, James Bell, and his ally Colin Campbell who organised a bitter resistance to the new regime. George Porterfield was soon in the thick of the action against the malignants, for he was a member of the Committee of Estates which

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(9) John Spreule, 'some remarkable passages of the Lord's Providence towards me in the bygone course of my Pilgrimage ...', p.7. In, J. Maidment, Historical Fragments relative to Scottish affairs ... 1635 to 1664, (Edinburgh, 1833).  
 (10) Ibid.  
 (11) Nicoll, Diary, pp.30-31.  
 (12) Glasgow Records, II, 86-7.

convened at Glasgow on 21 October 1645. At this meeting three of Montrose's followers were sentenced to die at the Market Cross of Glasgow. Early in November he was again on the Committee, when the defensive 'trench' around Glasgow was being organised.(12A)

Parliament did not help their new proteges by quartering three regiments on the burgh and levying contributions for their keep. Spreule explains that this was due to the Earl of Lanark's intrigues against them in Parliament during November 1645:(13) certainly it is not surprising that Lanark, who was swinging towards the malignants, turned against the Porterfieldians. The Council coped with billeting by drawing upon the Excise returns.(14) The Excise was an important source of local and national government revenue. It had been initiated in 1644 to finance the Army of the Solemn League by a tax on commodities - particularly malt - collected at the mills. This 'temporary' tax was continued of course, and in 1645 burgh magistrates were appointed to collect it, retaining ten per cent towards expenses and charities. The Excise seems to have quickly been diverted as a local emergency fund, but of course arrears had to be made up. It soon became common practice to farm it out, and the control of the Excise became central to the struggle between the Porterfieldian Council and the Opposition in 1650-51.

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(12A) S.R.O., PA.11/4, ff.131; 156.

(13) John Spreule, op.cit., p.8. However the Committee of Estates did award a subsidy towards troop upkeep See S.R.O., PA.11/4, f.159.

(14) Glasgow Records, II, 89-90.

The winter of 1645-6 was a grim season. Plague, which had been lurking in the West Country for some time, broke out in Glasgow. The sick were quarantined on the 'muir' outside the city. Fuel, provisions and the services of 'cleanseris' were provided by the magistrates.(15) The disease was so rife that the excise farmers and other tacksmen complained on 12 December 1646, that they were collecting no returns: they received compensation in November 1647.(16) On the Committee of Estates George Porterfield sought remission of nine months' maintenance, as the plague had damaged trade: the burgh was awarded one and a half months' remission.(16A) In February 1647 the disease was still active - James Robiesoune, baxter, was appointed 'visitour of the muire quhair the uncleane folkis ar and to set doune in a register all occurantes daily anent the infectioun ... and to tak notice of the graves.'(17)

Meanwhile the political struggle continued unabated. The ostracism of Glasgow's former leaders was confirmed by the first Act of Classes of 8 January 1646 - they would have come under the third class of those who had negotiated with Montrose. James Bell was examined by the Parliamentary Committee of Money and Processes on 22 January 1646, with regard to Glasgow's failure to attend the rendezvous at Cumbernauld Mill before the

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(15) See items in 'Extracts from the Burgh Accounts', Glasgow Records, II, 511.  
 (16) Ibid., 108; 114; 513.  
 (16A) S.R.O., PA.11/5 ff.121<sup>v</sup>-122. Register of the Committee of Estates 20 October, 1647.  
 (17) Glasgow Records, 113.

battle of Kilsyth: the magistrates' instructions to the ministers to order their flocks to 'bow and bend to the rebels upon the Sunday that the rebellis enterit their towne'; and generally capitulating towards Montrose.(17A) This aggravation continued in the election of October 1646, when the Parliament ordered a delay until they had convened, ordering Porterfield's group to maintain the magistracies in the interim. Enraged, the Opposition in Glasgow, led by James Bell and Colin Campbell, seized their chance to decry the Porterfieldians for infringing burgh liberties. Exceeding themselves, they aroused 'ane unnecessarie and unordourlie convocatioune of the multitude of the citie of Glasgow', (18) which effectively scared the radicals off the streets. An election was hurried through, in which George Porterfield was retained as Provost, to appease the Parliament, while his colleagues were all opponents. Colin Campbell, John Anderson elder, and William Neilson were returned as Bailies: 26 changes in office occurred.(19)

The Porterfieldians, backed by the Presbytery and Kirk Commission, spent the winter petitioning the Parliament for redress against such obstruction as 'could not have flowed from anie bot from spiritis long sopped in malignancie.'(20) Bell and Campbell were clapped in the Edinburgh Tolbooth for contempt of the Kirk Commission, and in an 'official' election in January 1647 the

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(17A) S.R.O., PA.7/4/47. Deposition of 'Provost' James Bell, 22 January 1646.

(18) A.P.S., VI, i, 625; Glasgow Records, II, 103.

(19) Glasgow Records, II, 98-100.

(20) A.P.S., VI, i, 626; Glasgow Records, II, 105.

Porterfield clique came back to office(21) - 25 places changed hands, and there were five extra-ordinary councillors (their opponents did not catch on to this useful device until their counter coup of June 1648). Of course the radicals did not view their return in such sordid terms - John Spreule was moved in all modesty to claim an immediate improvement in the condition of plague victims with the return of the Elect to office, thanks to Providence.(22)

The Porterfieldians maintained power in the elections of October 1647, with only five changes from the previous Council. George Porterfield had completed the statutory maximum of two consecutive terms as Provost, and he was replaced by his ally James Stewart of Floak, who was nominated by Sir Ludovick Houston for the Lennoxs.(23) The bailies were John Graham, William Lightbody and Robert Mack - radicals all. But now a new crisis was gathering, over the plight of Charles I, which was to cause deeper divisions still in Glasgow society.

Moderate and extreme Covenanters alike came out(23A)

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- (21) Glasgow Records, II, 111. The Porterfieldians were by now forming a regular party. The magistrates were officially nominated by Sir William Cochran, the Lennox Commissioner, but official support was, for once, welcome.
- (22) John Spreule, op.cit., p.9. The plague actually did pass by 1648. This was the last major outbreak of bubonic plague in Scotland, as quarantine methods worked in 1665-66, keeping out the Great Plague which afflicted London. See W.C. Dickinson and G.S. Pryde, A new history of Scotland, 2, Scotland from 1603 to the present day by G.S. Pryde, (Edinburgh, 1962) p.87.
- (23) Glasgow Records, II, 124.
- (23A) Dr David Stevenson assures me that many moderate Covenanters did support the Engagement. However Glasgow's moderate ministers were against it. V.Infra, p.33.

against the Engagement to rescue the King, seeing little security for their religion and influence should it succeed under malignant leadership. Their fears are well expressed in a petition of 'Barons and Gentlemen to Parliament' of 23 March 1648, whose signatories included the Western Laird, Sir George Maxwell of Pollok, and William Home and John Spreule of Glasgow. The petitioners appreciated that

'the lawes and liberties of the kingdom ... ar now as much threatened by a prevalent pairtie of sectaries in our neighbour kingdom as heertofoer by malignants'.

But keeping before their eyes 'the endes of the Solemn League and Covenant, which wee have so deeplie sworne', they had grave

'feares least such courses may be taken for opposeing of the sectaries as may againe putt power in the hands of malignants and prove equalie destructive to religion and the ends of the Covenant, especiallie if ther be any engagement in a war before the grounds thereof be sufficentlie cleered and the manner of prosecution agreed upon'.(24)

Resistance mounted amongst lairds, burghs and ministers, and the Engager Nobles had to resort to coercion to raise levies.

Baillie describes how:

'The randevvouses are appointed for the shires against the 21st of May. Many presbyteries, synods, burghs, shires gave in supplications the first of June to delay the leavy till the Church gott satisfaction. Our poor towne, still singular in that unhappiness, is made the first example of suffering. All of us, the towne ministers, went up to supplicat the Duke in Hamilton ... Wee gott courteous and civill words enough; but deeds very bitter'.(25)

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(24) Hist. Mss. Comm., 72, Laing Mss., I, 223-4.

(25) Baillie, III, 47.

The Glasgow Council had already sent a petition on 23 May explaining why they had not raised their levies: it was presented by three Porterfield diehards, Ninian Anderson, Peter Johnston, and John Wallace, and James Hamilton - who soon apostasised. It declared:

'Efter serious and particular diligence used to know the mind of the burgh, wee find a general unwillingness to engage in this warr throw want of satisfiounne in the laifulness thair of, especiallie amongst those quho have alwayes heirtofore shewed much readines in obedience to the publict'.(26)

The methods of some Engagers are revealed in the case of Claud Paull of Gorballs, and his wife, Janet Lauchlane, which was reviewed by the Parliament on 19 June 1649.

'James Andersone, Baillie in Gorballs out of his earnest desyr to advance the said sinfull ingadgment did ly in wait and search for [Paull] to goe ... againis his will'

Failing in this, Andersone came with troops to apprehend Paull at his house. Again foiled, Andersone offered 'many injuries and blasphemous wordis ... to (Paull's) wyff ... struck hir severall tymes and brack hir arme and thaireftir put hir in prisone' for obstructing Paull's accession to the 'leat unlaifull Ingadgment'.(27)

Sir George Maxwell of Pollok, George Porterfield, Commissary George Lockhart and Baillie Peter Johnston were appointed to redress the Paull grievances.

On 25 May 1648, the Glasgow magistrates themselves had to go to Edinburgh to explain their resistance to the Engagement - only George Porterfield, Peter Johnston and

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(26) Glasgow Records, II, 134.  
(27) A.P.S., VI, ii, 419-420.

another Bailie went through at first, (28) but they must have proved obdurate for by 2 June over half the Council, including Provost, Bailies, Dean of Guild and Clerk, were in Edinburgh Tolbooth. (29)

Meanwhile Hamilton had quartered troops under James Turner on Glasgow. Turner found that

'Glasgow being a considerable towne, was most refractorie to this parliament; for Mr Dick, whom they looked upon as a patriarch, Mr Baillie, Mr Gillespie and Mr Durhame, all mightie members of the Kirk of Scotland, had preached theme to a perfite disobedience of all civill power, except such as was authorised by the Generall Assemblie and Commission of the Kirk: and so indeed was the whole west of Scotland who cryd up King Christ, and the Kingdome of Jesus Christ ...' (30)

He quickly achieved his ends by billeting troops on dissidents - Baillie says

'In ten days they cost a few honest but mean (poor) people, above forty thousand pounds (Scots) besides plundering of these whom necessity forced to flee from their houses. Our losse and danger was not so great by James Grahame'. (31)

Hamilton was soon able to report 'ane great number of handis of the 8 seuerall wardis of ... Glasgow, testifeing thair reddines and willingnes to obey the ordouris of this present parliament' (32) The opponents of the Porterfield clique had found their opportunity - Turner recognised his friends:

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(28) Glasgow Records, II, 134. *See also S.R.O., PA.1116ff. 9v; 15; 15v.*  
(29) Glasgow Records, II, 136.  
(30) James Turner, Memoirs ..., ed. T. Thomson, (Bannatyne Club; Edinburgh, 1829), p.53 (Turner was of course a key figure in the persecution of the Covenanters after the Restoration)  
(31) Baillie, III, 48.  
(32) Glasgow Records, II, 135.

'In Glasgow were many honest and loyall men, the prime whereof were the Campbells and the Bells: and indeed I had good helpe of Coline Campbell, James Bell and Bayliffe James Hamilton.' (33)

The Porterfieldians were thus in disgrace with Parliament. George Porterfield had been nominated to the Committee of Estates on 12 May 1648, but he was noticeably absent from the sederunt of 12 June. (33A) On 14 June an extra-ordinary election was held in Glasgow, in which the ousted magistrates of 1645 were sponsored by Parliament. Colin Campbell, James Bell and other refugees of the post Montrose purge were returned: (34) 26 places changed hands, and there were five extra-ordinary officers. Baillie was depressed by these purges which were racking the burgh:

'so great greefe is amongst the new faction in our toune, and too great contentment in the old, to see themselves restored to their places by the same men and means they were casheered, the Parliament putting them in, and others out, only for following the adyce of their ministers and Commission of the Church.' (35)

One of the first acts of Colin Campbell's cabal was to appoint William Yair as town clerk - in fact they were so keen to be rid of clerk John Spreule that they sacked him even before they had formally elected themselves. (36) The works of the Porterfieldians were soon under scrutiny. On 4 July 1648 the Committee of Estates ordered the ex-magistrates to deliver the town's Charter list to the present magistrates, and to render

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- (33) Turner, *op.cit.*, p.53.  
(33A) S.R.O., PA.11/6, ff.1<sup>v</sup>; 17<sup>v</sup>.  
(34) Glasgow Records, II, 136-42.  
(35) Baillie, III, 47-8.  
(36) Glasgow Records, II, 140.

account of public monies to their opponents. Any discrepancies were to be reported to the Committee of Estates. These orders were repeated on 19 July.(37)

Such action was becoming typical - we have already seen how the Bell-Campbell group were interrogated by the Committee of Estates concerning compliance with Montrose in January 1646, several months after losing burgh office for this offence.(38) These pesterings and persecutions in all probability were initiated at home by Glasgow rivals. The Bell-Campbell group came to specialise in questioning the financial management of the Porterfieldians, regarding themselves as the guardians of the public purse. Thus every time the Porterfieldians were ousted an examination of their accounts followed. This occurred in mid 1651, when the Committee of the Communalty in Glasgow achieved sufficient rapport with the Committee of Estates to press charges against the Porterfieldians, and again in 1652, when the Porterfieldians finally lost office.(39)

Despite the change in burgh leadership in June 1648 resistance to the Engagement continued. So many people were leaving town to avoid the levies that the Committee of Estates ordered a Messenger at Arms to put a notice on the Market Cross on 29 June, advising them to return by the last day of the month under pain of forfeiture of liberties and privileges within the burgh. They had little enough time to comply, and the magistrates had to

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(37) S.R.O., PA.11/6, ff.66<sup>V</sup>; 84<sup>V</sup>.

(38) V.Supra, pp. 36-7.

(39) V.Infra, pp.104-5.

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apprehend all absconders on their return.(40) Resistance to the Engagement in the West was maintained by those stalwarts of the Covenant, the yeomen of Clydesdale, until the defeat at Mauchline Muir.

However by October 1648 there was a complete reversal of fortunes. The defeat of the Hamiltonians at Preston encouraged the Western Whigs to rise again, forming a pressure group which gave control of the Parliament to the Anti-Engagers. This initiated the ascendancy of the Kirk Party, in which the influence of ministers, lesser lairds and burgesses - initially sponsored by Argyle - reached new heights, with the greater part of the nobility disgraced by the Engagement fiasco.

In Glasgow the Porterfield group engineered their return to power with great alacrity. They submitted a deposition to the Committee of Estates to the effect that they had lost their places unjustly. The Committee agreed, and on 27 September ordered a new election in which the ousted faction were to be restored.(41) After the election George Porterfield returned as Provost, and his friends were Bailies:(42) 30 places changed hands all told. This new Council, basically of the Kirk Party, dominated office until March 1652, although not all of its members would go as far as Porterfield, John Grahame and John Spreule, who became ardent Protesters in the great schism of the Kirk Party after Dunbar.

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(40) S.R.O., PA.11/6, f.30<sup>v</sup>.

(41) S.R.O., PA.11/7, f.2<sup>v</sup>-3.

(42) Glasgow Records, II, 149-50.

Meanwhile the Porterfieldians were also restored to an active role in national and local government. On 7 October George Porterfield was co-opted on to the Committee of Estates with many others, to fill places vacated by the Engagers.(43) A clutch of Porterfieldian sympathisers appeared on the Committee of War for Lanark on 4 October 1648, including John Grahame; Mr John Spreule; Sir George Maxwell of Pollok; William Lightbody; William Dunlop, Porterfield and his Bailies.(44) Similarly George Porterfield, William Lightbody and George Lockhart, the Commissar of Glasgow, were on the Commission for Rectifying Valuations of Lanarkshire on 23 December 1648.(45) Commissar Lockhart had been appointed by the Parliamentary Committee of Processes and Monies to replace Mr Archibald Fleming on 24 April 1646.(46) He was to be active with Sir George Maxwell and the Western Protesters in their attempts to 'purge and plant' in Lanark in 1654.(47)

The struggle over the Engagement was probably the most critical influence on party formation in Glasgow, with issues of local power and 'national interest' coinciding forcefully. Thus the lists of names involved in the dispute, which survive in the burgh records are invaluable for reconstruction of party loyalties.(48)

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(43) S.R.O., PA.11/7, f.11<sup>v</sup>.

(44) S.R.O., PA.11/7, f.23<sup>r</sup>.

(45) S.R.O., PA.11/7, ff.112-112<sup>v</sup>.

(46) S.R.O., PA.7/4/148.

(47) V.Infra, p.133.

(48) Glasgow Records, II, 137-141. The importance of the affiliations formed at this time may be seen in the use of the election returns of 1645 and 1648 in arbitration by the English authorities in 1658 to settle election disputes raised by Patrick Gillespie (V.Infra, pp.163-4) Similarly, in the Restoration

Below are listed the group of Councillors arrested by the Parliament for hindering the levies, and the men who convened at two meetings in Glasgow prior to the election which displaced the Council: they are labelled 'Anti-Engagers' and 'Engagers' respectively. A subsidiary group is given of Porterfield Councillors who offered to collaborate with the Engagers, or appeared on their Council from June-October 1648.

'Anti-Engagers'

Thomas Allan  
 Ninian Anderson  
 James Armour  
 Walter Bryce  
 William Dunlop (D. of Guild)  
 Robert Finlay  
 John Fleming  
 John Grahame (Bailie)  
 James Hamilton  
 Robert Hamilton  
 Robert Hoggisyaird  
 Peter Johnston  
 William Lightbody (Bailie)  
 Robert Mack (Bailie)  
 John Spreule (Clerk)  
 James Stewart (Provost)  
 Robert Wilson

'Engagers'

Richard Allan  
 John Anderson  
 John Anderson yr.  
 John Anderson yst.  
 John Auldcorn  
 James Barnes  
 John Barnes  
 James Bell  
 James Colquhoun  
 Robert Dorroche  
 Walter Douglas  
 Henry Glen  
 James Hamilton  
 Mathew Hamilton  
 John Herbertson  
 Robert Horner  
 William Hyndshaw  
 Henry Marshal  
 Thomas Morrison  
 Walter Neilson  
 William Neilson  
 Thomas Pollok  
 Thomas Scott  
 Walter Stirling  
 James Trane  
 John Wilson

'Collaborators'

James Duncan  
 James Hamilton from council of  
 Mathew Hamilton Oct 1647-June  
 John Miller 1648, returned  
 Archibald Sempill June-Oct 1648  
 David Shearer

Andrew Cunningham from council of  
 Gabriel Cunningham Oct 1647-June 1648  
 Ninian Gilhagie Not returned June-Oct 1648.

With few exceptions, men from the two main groups above became committed to the radical and conservative parties

election of October 1660, Colin Campbell and the outed party of 1645 and 1648 were specifically nominated by the Government. (V.Infra, p.191.) The electoral careers of 'Engagers' and Porterfieldians during the Cromwellian Union are analysed in Table VII (V.Infra, p.179.)

contesting burgh politics during the Interregnum, although the Protester-Resolutioner schism complicated patterns of affinity. The absence of George Porterfield and Colin Campbell from the lists is merely circumstantial. Of the 'collaborators', Archibald Sempill, David Shearer and Mathew Hamilton disappear from burgh office after October 1648, whilst Andrew Cunningham, James Duncan and John Miller remained ostracised until after the fall of the Porterfieldians in 1652. Gabriel Cunningham and Ninian Gilhagie managed to return to office with Porterfield in October 1648, but only James Hamilton survived all vicissitudes - he was Dean of Guild in the Engager Council, earning Turner's praise; served with Porterfield's later Councils, and returned with the conservatives again in March 1652: a man for all seasons.

The evolution of the parties in Glasgow prior to the Engagement is quite fascinating. In national terms there had been a departure from the initial solidarity of the National Covenant when the Solemn Leaguers took to arms in support of the English Parliament, attempting to secure their revolution and export their religion. George Porterfield fought for the Army of the Solemn League with such future allies as Peter Johnston and James Kincaid:(49) such men may have brought fresh ideals and activism into burgh politics as they returned from the wars in the autumn of 1645. However, the initial steps towards forming a radical party were taken

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(49) Glasgow Records, II, 64; 68; 71. Porterfield was captain of the first company raised in Glasgow for the Solemn League.

by John Graham and John Spreule, who seem more ambitious and aggressive than Porterfield himself.(50) Their outlook was national, and their religion fervent.

There was a common link between the three chief radicals - they were all 'new men' or comparative outsiders in burgh politics. Spreule and Porterfield both came from Renfrewshire. Spreule's father had been Provost of Renfrew, but John gained entry into the greater world of Glasgow society via his training in the Law.(51) Porterfield was the third son of a Renfrewshire laird, and he was admitted burghess on marriage to Janet Patoun of a Glasgow merchant family.(52) Porterfield's relatives in Renfrewshire - the Duchall and Quarrelton Porterfields - were to be identified with the Covenanting Cause during the Restoration, when George Porterfield was in exile. John Graham was related to Spreule (although Spreule denies that kin occasioned their association).(53) His father was a skinner, and he was admitted burghess by right of his father-in-law, Adam Ritchie, cooper.(54) Graham's rise to the Provostship in 1650 suggests that a degree of social mobility had pervaded the echelons of Glasgow society. Indeed these new men were to momentarily upset the status quo in Glasgow. It must be said however that George Porterfield himself, although not of the Glasgow 'establishment', had been commissioner to the Convention of Burghs as early as

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(50) V.Supra, p.34.

(51) John Spreule, op.cit., pp.v-vi.

(52) Anderson, Provosts, p.16.

(53) John Spreule, op.cit., p.6.

(54) Anderson, Provosts, p.21.

1635. He was a bailie in 1639, (55) and one of the signatories to the Treaty of Ripon between Charles I and the Scots in 1640. (56) He was therefore a valuable ally to the parvenus Grahame and Spreule, although it may be going too far to say he was used as a 'front man'.

The opportunism with which Grahame and Spreule snatched power for their group over the Montrose affair in 1645 instigated an ambitious bid for local control. By late 1646 the Porterfieldians had rationalised their ascendancy in Glasgow with their political and religious principles. This is clearly illustrated in their supplication to the Parliament against Bell and Campbell of 1 December 1646 in which they claim only to have

'walked within the compass of their trust  
aiming at nothing for themselves but  
studeing the preservation of religion and  
advancing the work of reformatune':

but conveniently,

'their calling and covenant obleidged them  
before God to discover and mak knowne all the  
adversaries of the truth and to seik redres  
of the evils and preventing of these damages  
threatned to the caus of God by malignant  
practises. And to supplicat that open and  
declared malignantis may be keipit out of  
places of publict trust'. (57)

They may well have been inspired by the passing of the first Act of Classes in January 1646, which reflects the exclusivist and vindicative element in the Covenanters' movement.

Obviously the 'political consciousness' of the Porterfieldians developed while they were in power,

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(55) Glasgow Records, I, 405; II, 35.

(56) I am indebted to Dr David Stevenson for this information.

(57) Glasgow Records, II, 104-5.

motivated by that ultimate necessity - survival - and a firm sense of their worth and purpose. This inner cell of Glasgow Covenanters was to keep faith with the Cause long after the great ones of Argyle's faction had fallen by the wayside - their tenacity even excelled that of Protesters like Sir George Maxwell and Sir James Stewart in 1651.(58) In some respects they were the peers of the yeomen of the Western shires.

However although the West was a Whig stronghold by the end of 1648, and Glasgow's leaders were radical, the emergence of a tenacious opposition cannot be overlooked. The elevation of the Porterfield clique in 1645 created a counter group of 'outed' politicians, every bit as determined as the later 'outed' Covenanter ministers. This opposition came basically from the patrician merchant establishment of Glasgow - the Barnes, Bells, Campbells, Andersons and Walkinshaws. These families had dominated high office in the burgh throughout the 1630's and early 1640's. Of the craftsmen, the Neilson brothers, maltmen, feature in the burgh records for the same period. They were to be prominent in craft politics during our period, usually on the side of the 'Patricians'. Such men had been at one with Porterfield in the early years of the Covenant when they ruled the roost, but they are not so prominent in the campaigns of the Solemn League. Indeed the first mention of a Bell at war relates to the Engagement.(59) However, in fairness, there is no record of their stinting the Glasgow regiments which fought with

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(58) V. *Infra*, pp. 83<sup>A</sup>-84.

(59) Glasgow Records, II, 142.

Cromwell. This opposition group became intimately linked in marriage - for instance on 1 March 1649, John Bell, the arch royalist Provost of the Restoration era, married Janet Campbell, daughter to Colin Campbell.(60) He was also the nephew of James Bell, Campbell's political ally - the dismissed Provost of 1645. Thus a powerful nexus of interests was perpetuated throughout succeeding generations.

These men were accustomed to office and power in the burgh, and their frustration and isolation after October 1645 could only have been underlined by its official sanction in the first Act of Classes in January 1646; their second ejection from office in January 1647, and their humiliation after the failure of the Engagement. This tenacious 'malignant' opposition group remained intact throughout the years of the radical ascendancy, at times rivalling the Council's authority via extra-conciliar pressure groups, until an opportunity arose to strike for full power again. Thus the evidence which emerges from a close examination and analysis of the parties in Glasgow between 1645 and 1648 tends already to suggest that the burgh was not quite as safe for the radical - or extreme Covenanter - cause as might have been expected from the electoral success of the Porterfieldians. This theme will be further explored in succeeding chapters.

However, although faction in politics and religion bit deeply into burgh affairs during the years after the proscriptions of 1645, men of all parties had interests

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(60) Anderson, Provosts, 15; 25.

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in common. If the Porterfieldians were poor by comparison with their malignant rivals - Warriston later equated malignancy with 'substantious men' (61) - they were not entirely without property. This is evident from such limited land transactions as they were involved in - for instance one sasine describes a tenement of land on the south side of the Trongate of Glasgow bounded 'by the lands of old belonging to umquile James Stewart thereafter to George Potterfield and thereafter to the heirs of umquhile Peter Patoun and others on the east'. (62) James Stewart was Porterfield's political associate, and of course Porterfield married into the Patoun family. Porterfield also inherited a property in 'High Street' built by Alexander Porterfield in the mid sixteenth century. (63) Moreover, the gulf between Porterfieldians and malignant families did not prevent them from sharing in shipping interests during the Protectorate. (64) This community of interests goes some way towards explaining the survival and expansion of Glasgow during the Protectorate and Restoration despite the 'Troubles'. Another factor could well be the fact that the extremists lost power in the Council at the very beginning of the Cromwellian Union. I.B. Cowan has claimed that 'As the city rapidly consolidated its position as Scotland's second most important burgh, its citizens' interests inevitably moved away from politics and religion to the

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(61) V. Infra, p. 117.

(62) The Regality Club of Glasgow, II, (Glasgow, 1889-1912) 52.

(63) Glasghu Facies ... ed. J.F.S. Gordon, (Glasgow, 1866) II, 1262.

(64) V. Infra, p. 113.

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wider horizons of trade and industry. The conventicling army which looked for support in Glasgow before the battle of Bothwell Brig could not be expected to comprehend this change of attitude but it undoubtedly explains the lack of enthusiasm which the citizens exhibited for their cause.' (65) However a close analysis of Glasgow politics and society suggests this verdict should be qualified. In the first instance, the extreme Covenanters had business links with the malignants and were not devoid of entrepreneurial dynamic. Secondly, Glasgow was ruled by the establishment merchant families from 1652 onwards, and there was no sudden decline in religious zeal in the community, but only in its civic leaders. This was undoubtedly effective in suppressing extremism in the burgh, particularly when Restoration Government policy favoured packing the burghs with King's friends, but the survival of a determined cell of Covenanters in Glasgow throughout the reigns of the later Stuarts cannot be ignored. Thus during the Bothwell Brig campaign there was enthusiasm for the Covenanters - sufficient at least for Claverhouse's group to petition Monmouth for permission to burn the city after the victory, (66) despite the fact that the Royalist Provost Sir John Bell had provided drink and provisions for the royal army from the cellars of local Whigs, (67) who had concealed rebels in their homes. (68)

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(65) I.B. Cowan, The Scottish Covenanters, 1660-1688, (London, 1976) p.153.

(66) R. Wodrow, History of the sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution, (Glasgow, 1836), III, 83.

(67) The Memoirs of Captain John Creighton, ed. J. Swift In Autobiography ... XI (London, 1827) 34.

(68) Ibid., 31.

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A fundamental of Porterfieldian power became their close liaison with the local Presbytery through the office of ruling elder. This was a characteristic of Kirk Party rule in Scotland. Table V illustrates the activity of elders in Glasgow. Appendix III(69) gives

Table V Analysis of attendance by Ruling Elders in the Presbytery of Glasgow, January 1644 - June 1653

<u>Year</u>	<u>Meetings traced</u>	<u>Meetings with Elders</u>	<u>High attendance meetings(70)</u>
1644	18	14	2
1645	20	7	1
1646	21	12	3
1647	22	18	6
1648	13	10	4
1649	20	18	12
1650	17	10	3
1651	21	20	18
1652	25	22	19
1653 (until June)	10	10	3

as full a list of individual attendance as the condition of the Records allows, together with notes on key meetings. Some 67 individuals attended the Presbytery as elders in this period. Of these, 15 were Porterfieldian councillors at various points during the same period. Only 3 were, or became, members of the Councils of the opposition group.

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- (69) V. Infra, pp. 399-408. The sources for these lists are the MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records (S.R.A. T-PRES. Records of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 9 Jan. 1628-24 March 1647; April 1647-28 May 1651; Dec. 1650-29 Sept. 1654) A second sequence of entries for 1651-3 follows the last entry for 1654. This allows some correlation of entries, but the damage suffered by the records in fire makes accuracy difficult.
- (70) A figure of 3 or more elders has been chosen to indicate high attendance. As Appendix III shows attendance varied from 1 to 8. High attendance is particularly noticeable in the years 1649; 1651-2. The full quota of ministers for the Presbytery was 17, but there were usually a few absentees at each meeting.

Moreover the Porterfieldians had a man on 87 out of 95

sederunts between January 1646 and January 1653. The Porterfieldians, Thomas Browne and William Home were frequently in attendance in the early years of their group's ascendancy in the burgh. John Spreule first appears in April 1647; Porterfield in October 1648, and Grahame in June 1649.(71) But, as Table V shows, ruling elder participation 'took off' in 1649, reaching a peak in 1652, just as the Porterfieldians lost civic power and became even more active in Kirk affairs, by way of compensation. Porterfield, Grahame and Spreule become prominent after June 1649. Similarly the number of sederunts with high elder attendance increases substantially in 1649, when 6 or even 8 elders start to turn up. Their votes could be used to control the Presbytery for their party: this was to become particularly important after the split between Resolutioners and Protesters in 1651, which culminated in the schism of the Glasgow Presbytery in January 1653.

Of course the Presbytery had been a radical body long before its infiltration by the Porterfieldians, but in our period local faction combined with radicalism in a peculiar intensity. For instance in June 1647 the brethren examined the 'malignants' of Glasgow, and 'persons guilty of wrongdoing to the Presbyterie of Glasgow in October 1646'. James Bell and Colin Campbell came under scrutiny. The 'wrong doing' was of course their seizing of power from the Porterfieldian elect in the burgh. Baillie tells us

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(71) MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1647-51, 12.

that the ministers were firmly against the Engagement, (72) but unfortunately there are extensive gaps in the records - and in sederunts of elders in particular - between June and December 1648. After the Engagement crisis the Presbytery was to be in unity behind the Porterfieldians belabouring the malignants (73) until the difficulties over support for Charles Stewart provoked the Protester-Resolutioner conflict.

The Glasgow Presbytery had 11 outlying parishes in addition to the 6 burgh charges. Hence the Presbytery went on circuit around the district as required - the Porterfieldian elders bearing this inconvenience enthusiastically. The outlying parishes were represented by ruling elders from the heritors - in particular, the laird of Cathcart and Robert Hamilton of Aikenhead feature in the sederunts throughout the period. This is very interesting, as Cathcart became a stronghold of the Covenanters after the Restoration, and Aikenhead's family were to the fore in dissent. Moreover the marriage of Susannah Aikenhead to John Anderson, younger, of Dowhill in 1659 may well have stimulated the latter's commitment towards dissent. (74) On the other hand, Sir George Maxwell of Pollok, a staunch Protester and ally of the Porterfieldians, does not appear in the ranks of the Glasgow Presbytery for the simple reason that his parish of Eastwood was under the Presbytery of Paisley. He was however active in moral discipline in Eastwood. (75)

(72) V. Supra, p. 38.

(73) V. Infra, p. 53.

(74) V. Infra, p. 250.

(75) V. Infra, p. 94.

The Porterfieldians rapidly established a rapport with the more radical ministers in Glasgow. In particular, their partnership with Patrick Gillespie, who took up a local charge in 1648, was to be critical in our period. Gillespie had scarcely arrived when he was received as an honorary burgess and gild brother. (76) George Porterfield himself was related to the prominent radical minister, John Carstaires, who was translated from Cathcart to Glasgow Outer High in 1650. Carstaires' sister married Porterfield of Quarrelton, George Porterfield's kinsman. (77)

Thus the Presbytery can be seen as a potential second centre of radicalism in Glasgow, which was to become particularly important when the Porterfieldians lost burgh office, and made it the centrepin of their resistance movement. There were indeed to be no ruling elders in Presbytery meetings after 1663, probably because the office was regarded as Graachian and subversive.

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(76) Glasgow Records, II, 128.

(77) W. Ferrie, The Life and Letters of Mr John Carstaires,  
(Edinburgh, 1843), p.188.

TABLE VI Political change in Glasgow, 1644-1660

Election	Turnover of personnel from previous elections	No. of extra-ordinary councillors	Status of election ('free' or nominated or controlled*) and comments
Oct. 1644	-	2	FREE
Oct. 1645	31	5	CONTROLLED - by Committee of Estates & radicals
Oct. 1646	26	1	FREE - but rigged by local malignants
Jan. 1647	25	5	CONTROLLED - by Committee of Estates
Oct. 1647	5	3	NOMINATED - but radicals in charge
June 1648	26	5	CONTROLLED - by Committee of Estates - Engagers
Oct. 1648	30	4	CONTROLLED - by Committee of Estates - radicals
Oct. 1649	8	3	FREE - radicals in charge
Oct. 1650	9	2	FREE - " "
Oct. 1651	10	3	FREE - " "
Mar. 1652	32	5	CONTROLLED - by English & local conservatives
Oct. 1652	7	4	NOMINATED - conservatives in charge
1653 )	No elections		ENGLISH BAN. GLENCAIRN RISING
1654 )			
Oct. 1655	13	3	FREE - conservatives hold influence - couple of radicals
Oct. 1656	9	4	NOMINATED - " "
1657	No election		GILLESPIE INTRIGUES FOR RADICALS
Mar. 1658	13	4	NOMINATED - conservatives hold influence
Oct. 1658	14	2	NOMINATED - " "
Oct. 1659	5	4	NOMINATED - " "
Oct. 1660	12	5	CONTROLLED - by Restoration Government for Tories

\* 'FREE' election = no interference from government or local overlord

NOMINATED election = nomination of provost and bailies by local overlord (or Archbishop)

CONTROLLED election = massive interference from central gov't: usually in support of a local faction

Figures relate to change in total number of officeholders - magistrates, functional officers, councillors and provost. Total offices = 35 annually but usually between 29 and 34 officeholders due to overlap between councillors and functional officers (filled either by councillors or extra-ordinary councillors from outside council ranks). See also discussion of burgh constitution in Introduction and on pp of Prelude.

## Parties

Basic development and alignment along radical and conservative lines. Radicals were initially Solemn Leaguers, and gathered a band of supporters to dominate Councils from 1645-1651, with the key exceptions of brief periods in October-January 1646-47, and June-October 1648, when the conservative opposition snatched control. Conservatives were driven into opposition by the post Montrose purge of October 1645, further Government support for radicals in January 1647, and the Acts of Classes. The Engagement issue gave them temporary power and cohesion. In ostracism during the reign of the Kirk Party, the conservatives were joined by moderates in Kirk and Burgh after the schism in the Kirk after Dunbar. They became identified with support for the King, but only regained power by cooperating with the English Republicans to oust the Porterfield radicals in March 1652, when the radicals resisted the terms of the Tender of Union.

The restored conservative establishment held power throughout the remaining years of the Interregnum, despite repeated attempts by the radicals, now polarised into the supporters of Patrick Gillespie and the Kirk Protesters, to regain control of the Council. The Conservatives were thus ready to come into their own fully with the Restoration of Charles II in May 1660.

**"The Politics and Society of Glasgow: 1648-1674"**

**Part one: The struggle for Kirk and King, 1648-52**

**Chapter I The radical ascendancy in Glasgow from October 1648 to the fall of the Western Association, December 1650.**

**'When wee are in the dark about the cause of God's smyting we are to borrow light from God to sie it'-**

**Sermon on Job, by Patrick Gillespie in Glasgow, after the battle of Hamilton, December 1650.**

The election returns for 1648 to 1651 show remarkable continuity, which is to be expected with the Porterfield faction dominating office until they were evicted for resisting the terms of the Tender of Union early in 1652. This was despite the fluctuations in the fortunes of the 'national' Kirk Party, whose power reached its zenith with the Act of Classes and the abolition of lay patronage early in 1649, to decline after defeat at Dunbar, and collapse with the split between Remonstrants and Resolutioners late in 1650. Nevertheless although the radicals in Glasgow held office for over three years, they did not always hold complete power, for their conservative opponents were always ready to clip their wings.

However in the immediate aftermath of the Engagement the Porterfieldians had everything going for them in Glasgow. The second Act of Classes of 4 January 1649 officially banned all malignants from office, confirming the fate of the opposition group in Glasgow.(1) This Act was even more severe than that of 1646, isolating not only malignants, but moderates like Baillie (who was accused of malignancy for merely questioning the severity of its terms)(2) A sign of growing extremism in Glasgow may be apparent in lists of persons banned from the sacraments in late May 1649 by the Presbytery: the great majority of the offenders are associates of the Bell-Campbell clique, including James Bell, Colin Campbell, Daniel Wallace, the Barnes, Andersons, James Pollok and

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(1) The proscriptions, with specific reference to burgh office, were reaffirmed in an Act of 17 February, 1649. See A.P.S., VI, ii, 207.

(2) Baillie, III, 92.

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On 17 April 1649 George Porterfield was again added to the membership of the Committee of Estates, and he was in regular attendance throughout the year. John Grahame deputised on one occasion.(2B) On 18 August 1649, George Porterfield; Grahame; Spreule; Thomas Pettigrew; Commissar Lockhart and Sir George Maxwell of Pollok were appointed as Glasgow Presbytery's commissioners on the Committee for redress of 'the complaints and grievances of the People against Masters, Collectors, Officers and Souldiers of the 5th of July' 1648.(2C) Thus the Porterfieldians were enjoying influence with the rise of the Kirk Party.

National affairs were again becoming tense. The Act of Classes reflected a temporary and expedient alliance between the Kirk Party and the English Independents, for Cromwell had instructions to secure the absolute suppression of the Engagers before leaving Scotland, and Argyll guaranteed this in return for support.(3)

However the execution of Charles I shattered this unholy alliance, and the proclamation of Charles II as monarch of 'Britainne, France and Ireland'(4) in Edinburgh on 5 February 1649 made it almost inevitable

(2A) MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1647-51, 181-3.

(2B) S.R.O., PA.11/8, ff. 1; 93-99; 178-188.

(2C) Ibid., f.119. Thomas Pettigrew was an associate of the Porterfieldians in the Presbytery as a ruling elder. See Appendix III.

(3) For invaluable information on the period 1648-51, I am indebted to the unpublished thesis by David Stevenson, 'The Covenanters and the government of Scotland, 1637-1651', 2 vols., Glasgow Ph.D., 1971.

(4) Baillie, III, 66.

that the Scots would come into conflict with the English Republic, in whose affairs they had presumed to interfere. Furthermore the link with Charles Stewart initiated a struggle between the Scottish factions to gain control of King and policy: even his proclamation was conditional to his establishing religion 'according to the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant'.(5) Conflict was postponed while Cromwell dealt with the Irish problem - Ormonde had offered Charles a prospect of success without the Scots - but once this was resolved an epic struggle between Scotland and the English Commonwealth commenced.

Glasgow had been preparing its defences for some time previous to the menace from England. The burgh was a founder member of the Western Association at Hamilton on 8 November 1648.(6) The Association had been set up after the disasters of the Engagement (which indeed had been unsuccessfully resisted by the West at Mauchline Moor) to ensure that it would not be so easily dominated

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(5) C.S. Terry, A history of Scotland ... (Cambridge, 1920).

(6) Glasgow Records, II, 153.

by Eastern policy in the future. Naturally Glasgow's radical leaders were keen to join the Association, and Porterfield, Grahame and Spreule were soon in regular attendance at its meetings: it was after all a means of maintaining their power and prestige in Glasgow as well as a sword to uphold their higher political and religious ideals. The Porterfieldians evaded the official shire levies in order to devote Glasgow's full resources towards raising forces for the Western Association in November 1648.(7) Although the Association fell into abeyance with the complete victory of the Kirk party in the Committee of Estates, it was reconvened to meet the English, and other threats nearer home, in August 1650.

The Association experiment formed a useful nucleus for the more urgent re-arming after the execution of Charles I, and the likelihood of conflict with the regicides. Glasgow was certainly appalled at the king's fate, proclaiming Charles II as soon as possible after the news came through late on 9 February 1649.(8) But it took over fifteen months before the Kirk party could reach any sort of an agreement with Charles, and meanwhile the raising of levies and the costs of military preparations

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(7) Ibid., 153-5.

(8) Ibid., 158-9.

were becoming increasingly hard to bear. There are indications that evasion was common in Glasgow - on 31 March 1649 word was sent round the burgh asking for volunteers for the army, and everyone was warned 'not to remove aff the town, wtherwyse not to be receivit bak againe'.(9) Billetting was another dreaded imposition - it was expensive and invaded household privacy.(10) In August 1649 the magistrates heard that 'Irisch sojouris' were to be billeted in the burgh and neighbouring shires, and they anxiously inquired 'eist', to Edinburgh, as to what would be involved in this. Actually a second reference describes the troops as 'Hilendaris', (11) and it may well be that Scottish Highlanders were involved - to the burgesses wild Irish and Highlanders were synonymous.

There is no doubt that times were hard, basic commodity set prices for the years 1648-1652 are the highest by far in the period 1638-1690.(12) Baillie admits that there was some difficulty in raising levies throughout the nation in 1649, for 'To increase the leavies was to put the country to a farther burthen, while the present was so great as could be borne, and caused dangerous grumbling everywhere' although this was of some advantage for 'If

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(9) Ibid., 160.

(10) Billetting was at its most noxious when used to reduce dissidence and resistance to Government policy. This occurred in 1645-6, 1648 and 1652, and reached new heights after the Restoration, with the Highland Host of 1678.

(11) Glasgow Records, II, 171.

(12) The prices for bread, ale, beer, tallow and candle were set annually by the magistrate after elections and harvest. (For a list of prices 1638-1690 See Appendix II).

and a greater army had been on foot, the world would not keep them out of England, which we did not intend, being farr from any agreeance with the king'.(13) Bitter squabbles between the western and eastern burghs broke out in July 1649 over their respective shares of the monthly maintenance. Feeling their share had long been excessive, the western burghs pressed for a favourable re-assessment of the tax roll, and Edinburgh's share in particular was increased from £28 in the £100 to £36, despite determined resistance by the provost, Sir James Stewart - himself a leading radical, who had financed the opposition to the Engagement.(14) Obviously loyalty to the locality, which after all persists in our current centralised society, was strong and only to be overridden in times of greatest common danger, or on a voluntary basis.(15)

Such a danger threatened in the spring of 1650, when negotiations with Charles Stewart were still at a delicate stage, for Montrose had embarked on his last desperate mission. Montrose was of course associated with Glasgow, having his seat and lands at nearby Mugdock: these lands had been alienated, not surprisingly, to Argyll by the Committee of Estates on 16 March 1649.(16) He was without general support locally - to the extremists of the Kirk party he was the arch malignant, symbol of all the dangerous

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(13) 'Baillie to Spang, 14 September 1649.' Baillie, III, 98.

(14) Ibid., 98. (For Sir James Stewart and the Engagement, see David Stevenson op.cit., II, 827).

(15) The records of the Convention of Royal Burghs show many instances of voluntary charity and mutual assistance amongst burghs.

(16) A.P.S., VI, ii, 370-371.

influences they wished to remove from the person of the young king: to most other folk in the Lowlands he was the man who had brought 'wild Irish' against them, slaying honest burgesses and the fisher lads of the East Neuk at Kilsyth on a warm August day. Despite all this, a lingering of respect for Montrose was revealed by the bold but tactless John Bryson, who on hearing the proclamation against Montrose at the Mercat Cross of Glasgow in April 1650 'quhairin he was stylit traitor and excommunicat ribell ... did cry out, and callit him als honest a nobleman as was in this kingdome'. Despite the element of truth in Bryson's words, they were not appreciated by the bailies who delivered him to the *Parliament* in disgrace, and he was 'cassin into the theves hoill quhairin he lay in great miserie by the space of many weekis'. (17)

Montrose's last expedition was ruthlessly crushed at Carbisdale by Strachan and Hackett with a small efficient force. Before Montrose's execution at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh on 21 May 1650 he was interrogated by a select band, including George Porterfield(18) (a very active burgh commissioner in the *Parliament* during the reign of the Kirk Party). Probably the most important result of Montrose's last stand was the boost it gave to the careers of Strachan's group. After Dunbar, Ker and Strachan sought to amplify their military and religious principles in a purged 'holy' army of the Western Association - obviously emulating Cromwell's Eastern Association(19)

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(17) Nicoll, *Diary*, p.7.

(18) Sir James Balfour, *Historical Works* ... (Edinburgh, 1825), IV, 13-14.

(19) *Baillie*, III, 132.

- but for the moment the extremists and moderates of the Kirk Party united to defend Covenant, Nation and figurehead King against the English Commonwealth in the summer of 1650.

Glasgow was very active for the cause. In June 1650 the master of works was ordered to repair all arms.(20) A hundred swords were to be bought. The burgh was expected to outfit at least 150 troops, and pay a cash levy of £4000: total expenses were reckoned at £6000 on 12 July.(21) Some difficulty in raising men is evident from the magistrates' advertisement for 'guid conditions', and

'for better encouradgment to these quha ar to goe as sojouris ... it is enacted ... that such of them as ar strangers be maid burgesses gratis and such of them as ar prenteisses and sones to be friemen, provyding they keepe thair charge and to lose their freedome gif they doe nocht'.(22)

The folk of the outlying Barony and Gorbals were also stented and levied. On 12 August 1650 the Western Association was revived and a list of 'horse and fencible persons in town'(23) drawn up. George Porterfield was pressing vigorously for the campaign in the Parliament - on 24 June 1650, he and Argyll were urging the Edinburgh Council to see to the fortification of Leith.(24) John Spreule was so busy that William Yair had to act as

(20) Glasgow Records, II, 188.

(21) Ibid., 189.

(22) Ibid., 189-190.

(23) Ibid., 192.

(24) Edinburgh Records, 1642-1655, 240. (Porterfield is prominent in the A.P.S. of this period).

clerk, (25) but Spreule soon had grave doubts about the way the national campaign was being organised.

Even before the battle of Dunbar the seeds of further division were sown, undermining resistance to the English. The big issue was again that of malignancy - who was fit to fight for the Kirk Party's vision of the nation?

John Spreule describes the dilemma of the extreme Covenanters. Seeking Divine direction, he scanned his Bible and came upon the text 'Tho' Noah, Job and Daniel would pray, yet would I not hear them', whereupon he was

'exceedingly confounded in reference to our present case, and some weeks thereafter having gone to Leith to joyn myself to the forces there, I dryed up in my prayers ... and was glad to take the first opportunity ... to retire; and quhen Dumbar was foughten, and the neuse thereof came to Glasgow ... it is born in upon my mind that our way in that business was not what it ought to have been'. (26)

With such scruples afoot, it was little wonder that Leslie's command was weakened by purging and interference from the ministers: yet his enemies blamed him for the defeat at Dunbar, and he was suspected of malignancy. (27) The rationale was that Leslie had avoided full effective conflict with Cromwell before Dunbar to avoid giving

(25) Glasgow Records, II, 192. (Spreule's involvement with politics to the neglect of the clerkship was perpetual - his predecessor, Henry Gibson had been little better. Invariably William Yair deputed faithfully taking over whenever the Glasgow conservatives took office and sacked Spreule. Spreule's combination of political activism and tenacious defence of his 'rights' to the fruits of office, was only equalled by Gillespie in his running of the College between 1653 and 1660).

(26) J. Spreule, op.cit., pp.9-10.

(27) 'Collections by a Private Hand at Edinburgh, 1650-1651', pp.27-29; 35; 39. In J. Maidment, op.cit. (This tract is utterly biased against David Leslie and gives enthusiastic accounts of Strachan's performances at Edinburgh and Dunbar.)

victory to the Kirk Party, and the 'unaccountable' reverse at the battle came due to God's wrath against malignants. In all probability Leslie's fabian tactics were the best he knew, and only the self-deceived of the Kirk could blame a general for losing a battle when they had removed his ablest officers, but Strachan's faction had lost all confidence in Leslie and refused to serve with him.

Yet, in a military sense, all was not lost at Dunbar, particularly in the West where the Association was strengthened by the adherence of Ker and Strachan. Strachan was given every concession by the Kirk Party - funds, men, and a commission to operate independently of Leslie: after all, his military principles based on the small select 'holy' army, confirmed those of the ministers. Unfortunately Strachan's scruples were to be reinforced by contact with the extremists of the Kirk Party in the West, and - perhaps more critically - renewed contact with his old commander, Cromwell. (28)

In Glasgow, radical continuity was assured by the election of John Grahame as Provost in October 1650. Indeed the standing magistrates were so busy with high politics that they scarcely had time to observe the usual timetable of elections, postponing proceedings to suit their presence in town. (29) Their policies were now

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(28) Archibald Strachan was a fascinating character - he fought with Cromwell at Preston. Baillie says he reformed a 'very leud life' and took to sectarianism. He was permitted to take the Covenant in 1649, but fell into apostacy after Hamilton fight, was excommunicated, and died in 1651. See Baillie, III, 112; D.N.B., Lv, 8-9.

(29) Glasgow Records, II, 194-5.

greatly influenced by the dynamic minister, Patrick Gillespie, who dominates Glasgow politics for the next ten years.

Gillespie, whose actions are fully documented by his arch-enemy, Robert Baillie, was born in Kirkcaldy in 1617, and first appeared in Glasgow in 1641 in the grand manner in which he was to continue, producing 'a presentatioune grantit to him be his Majestie of the place of the Highe Kirk instead of the bischope'.(30) The magistrates objected, and he withdrew, only to return to the Outer High Kirk in 1648. His brother, George Gillespie, was active for the Covenant, and Patrick was no less willing. Opposing the Engagement, he must quickly have found common cause with the ruling Glasgow radicals, and when there was a possibility that he might be recalled to Kirkcaldy, the magistrates ordered four men, including Grahame and Spreule, to go through to Edinburgh to 'doe everie that may stop or interrupt that transport' on 21 February 1649.(31) Gillespie was at the centre of that party, with James Guthrie, Hutcheson, Durham and others, which opposed negotiations with Charles II 'till a change in the King should appeare'.(32) After Dunbar they moved into positive opposition.

'Soe soone as they saw it probable that they were to have a force (Strachan's) to be ruled by themselves alone, it became their work to have that army so great, and the other (David Leslie's) so small as they were able'.(33)

Thus the combination of Strachan's group, Gillespie

(30) Ibid., I, 435; Fasti, III, 462.

(31) Glasgow Records, II, 159.

(32) Baillie, III, 114.

(33) Ibid., 114-115; 132.

and the Glasgow radicals made for a hotbed of activity in the West in the Autumn of 1650. They were aided by members of the local gentry such as Sir John Cheislie of Carswell and Sir George Maxwell of Pollok: for example '... the committee of Clydesdale (consisted) of a few mean persones, who were totally led by Mr Patrick and Sir John Cheislie, being very forward'.(34) Baillie links them all in the Remonstrance, stating that it was hatched

'in these meetings with Mr Patrick Gillespie, where Sir John Cheislie and some three of our burgesses did meet oft and long ...The first vent of their motions was at the Provinciaill (Synod) in Glasgow, where Mr Patrick, Mr G(uthrie), Mr Hutchesone, Ker, Strachan and others with much night-wakeing, did bring forth that strange Remonstrance of the Synod ...'.(35)

The Glasgow Remonstrance of 2 October 1650 was overshadowed by that of the Western Association, drawn up at Dumfries on 17 October. Both declarations rejected further dealings with the King until he had shown more tangible signs of repentance for the sins of his parents and past associations. Patrick Gillespie expressed the growing concern of the Kirk Party in a sermon preached in Glasgow on 20 October 1650. He warned his flock that although they had suffered previously in body and property, a greater testing time was at hand. For '... in thes tymes yee had this comfort though the State and bodie of the land wes goeing wrong the Kirk was going right and

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(34) *Ibid.*, 112.

(35) *Baillie*, III, 115. The three Glasgow burgesses referred to would probably be the trinity of Graham, Porterfield and Spreule. At a later date, when the Remonstrance was debated by the Kirk Commission, Porterfield 'spoke in his protestation of something like sealing the Remonstrance with his blood' - *Baillie*, III, 124.

kept streight ...': but now they had to assert the Way of God not only against '... sectaries and malignants but King and State (and) sie the Kirk that hes bene so comfortable to the people of God turn discomfortable to them and goe wrong as weill as the state'.(36)

In effect the Kirk Party were in an impossible position regarding the King. They had already forced him to sign both Covenants and libel his parents. They desperately tried to keep him from malignant advisers - Sir John Cheisly and George Porterfield headed the campaign to evict Lauderdale's group from Scotland in the ~~Parliament~~ on 4 July 1650.(37) But although they could see that the King - not surprisingly - was not their sincere and enthusiastic ward, they could not, or would not, make the final break towards the 'English solution' of republicanism. Instead they strove with unmanageable clay until it was taken from their hands. The Covenanters were to reap in full the harvest sown during Charles Stewart's early career in Scotland when he was restored without them in 1660. The Western Association contained the most radical elements on the fringe of the Kirk Party, but it had no coherent purpose, no political philosophy, and no unity.

During October 1650 the Association seemed to be growing in strength and purpose, but weaknesses were latent. Just before the Remonstrance was drawn up at

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(36) N.L.S., MS 664 A, Manuscript lectures and sermons by James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie et al, 1650-1652, p.443 (Henceforth, Gillespie, Sermons).

(37) A.P.S., VI, ii, 594; Sir James Balfour, op.cit., IV, 76-77.

Dumfries, Cromwell came west seeking an understanding with Strachan. This is not as odd as it might seem, for Strachan's earlier service with the English forces gave them common ground, and Strachan felt that the Remonstrance did not go far enough in rejecting malignancy.(38) He may have been an extreme case but other Remonstrants found malignants at least as noxious as sectarians - for instance Gillespie said in his sermon of 20 October 1650:

'I speak it not to diminish the sin of compliance with sectaries, But I think the sin of compliance with malignants a thousand times greater because we have been so often plagued with them before...'(39)

Spreule confesses that he 'was convinced that an other thing than the remonstrance was duty' and 'A little after this ... I am under some temptation to join with the English'.(40) In practice however Gillespie and Spreule were kept from negotiations with Cromwell, for the present, by their abhorrence of toleration: as Spreule wrote

'in the year 1650, while O. Cromwell is reported to be come over the border with his army at my first hearing of it I was so stirred in my spirit at the evil of toleration that I never remember that I attained to the like again'.(41)

(38) Baillie, III, 118; 120.

(39) Gillespie, Sermons, p.446. See the 'Petition of Barons and Gentlemen to the Parliament' of 1648 (Supra, p.38) for similar sentiments.

(40) John Spreule, *op.cit.*, pp.10-11.

(41) *Ibid.*, p.9. Spreule and the Glasgow Kirk Party maintained their opposition to toleration and sectarianism - it was basic to their rejection of the Tender of Union in 1652 (V.Infra, p.101). However they were subsequently forced to negotiate with the Protectorate Governments to sustain their attack on Kirk rivals, of the Resolutioner group. Sectarianism penetrated Scotland via the English garrisons. Prominent Scots apostasised to Quakerism - Swinton, Alexander Jaffray, and Barclay of Urie. The sects enjoyed more popular support

It never seemed to occur to them, that but for Scottish interference in English affairs in support of Charles II, the Commonwealth could conceivably, practising toleration, have left them in peace to secure their exclusivism at home. Compromise was never the strong point of the extreme Covenanters: they possessed a full measure of the myopia and self deception essential in the Elect.

Strachan however was a law unto himself, and Baillie claims that his negotiations with Cromwell gave Oliver the impression that the Western Association would not press him too hard.(42) This may have initiated a split between Strachan and his colleagues in the West, for by November divisions in the Association became public at a meeting in Glasgow organised by Gillespie, where

'the subscribing of the Remonstrance was much pressed on the great committee of gentlemen and officers by the ministers, who did sit apart in the Tolbuith, and called themselves the Presbyterie of the Western Armie'.(43)

Baillie says that little success was achieved by the Remonstrants, but that the negotiations between Strachan's group and the English were discussed, resulting in the

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than is often imagined - Baillie refers to converts to Quakerism amongst 'the most zealous Remonstrant yeomen in Clydesdale', and also at Lenzie (Baillie, III, 323; 357). They were still holding out in Lenzie in 1666 (See S.R.A. T-PRES, Records of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 1663-1682, p.88). It seems likely that extremist Covenanters found themselves crossing the divide towards sectarianism in key areas, thriving during the years of breakdown in church discipline, to reject its return.

(42) Baillie, III, 120 (although as Baillie admits Cromwell left hurriedly for Edinburgh on a report that Strachan was marching on the capital: see also Cromwelliana, (Westminster, 1810), pp.92-3).

(43) Baillie, III, 122.

cashiering of Lieutenant William Govane and Scout master Dundas. Strachan himself was

'commanded to go noe more to the regiment; but he told them expresslie, he could not obey. Some would have been at laying him fast, for feare of his goeing to the enimie; but least that Ker and many others should thereby have been provocked, they let him alone':(44)

this incident may explain Nicoll's assertion that Strachan was cashiered by the Association in November.(45)

Cromwell's visit to Glasgow between 11-14 October had important results for the burgh. The magistrates and most of the ministers left for the shelter of the Cumbræes in the Firth of Clyde, not so much because they feared the English army - for Oliver sent a civil letter ahead to reassure them, and Baillie admits that the troops were well behaved - but rather 'becaus thai feared to be brandit with the name of complyeris with sectariaries'.(46) Obviously their local opponents, who had been caught out in this way over the reception of Montrose in 1645, would have made capital over a reception of Cromwell by the Porterfieldians. The magistrates later refused to treat with Lambert's forces for similar reasons of scruple.(47) Yet they could not win, for they lost prestige by 'deserting' their posts - this contributed to the rise of a local action group, the Committee of the Communalitie, dominated by conservatives and moderates, in the months ahead when someone had to

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(44) Ibid.

(45) Nicoll, Diary, p.36.

(46) Ibid., pp.30-31.

(47) V.Infra, p.74.

cope with enemy demands for supply. Much has been made of Cromwell's encounter with old Zachary Boyd, of the Barony Church, who upbraided the 'sectarians' in his sermon before them. But Gillespie's relationship with Cromwell was to become far more important - two local historians claim that he was won over by Oliver at this time, (48) but this is doubtful for he was still opposing English policy during Cromwell's second visit to Glasgow in April 1651. Cromwell had this great capacity to attract able men (as divergent as Monck and Broghill) to his side, and his eventual conversion of the ambitious Gillespie is not surprising.

Glasgow continued to support the Western Association, despite its divided leadership and the expense of its supply. The burgh found it hard to raise its horse levy in September, and by November they had to billet Association troops - they were put with 'suche as ar due ony of thair bygane publict dues'. (49) The Association's determined enemy, Baillie, says they had done nothing to warrant support, marching off to Dumfries when Cromwell came, and rustling the horse of local gentry. (50) Certainly the force collapsed on its first real encounter with the English, when Lambert routed Ker at Hamilton on 1 December 1650.

The defeat came due to poor intelligence and divisions in the Association command. Robert Montgomerie had been

(48) Anderson, Provosts, p.29; R. Alison, The Anecdote of Glasgow, (Glasgow, 1892), p.62.

(49) Glasgow Records, II, 195.

(50) Baillie, III, 118.

sent by the Estates to bring Ker and Strachan into action. Ker attempted to forestall him by attacking Lambert's garrison, badly miscalculating his strength. After initial success his force fell back in confusion. Ker was wounded and captured. Baillie hints at treachery by Lieutenant Govane, whom Ker had readmitted to the army.(51) Strachan was hovering in the vicinity but took no part in the fight. Nicoll gives him credit for attempting to rally the reserve in Kyle after the rout, before surrendering to Lambert.(52) Baillie claims he stopped the reserve rallying and went to Cromwell to save himself from all his foes.(53) The defeat shattered Protester confidence - in Gillespie's post-battle sermon he referred his audience to Job: 'When wee ar in the dark about the cause of God's smyting we are to borrow light fra God to sie it'.(54)

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- (51) Ibid., 124-125. Govane was executed after the Restoration, with Argyle and Guthrie - his main charge was a role in the execution of Charles I. This was dubious
- (52) Nicoll, Diary, p.37.
- (53) Baillie, III, 125. Swinton also joined Cromwell now. They were both excommunicated, and Strachan died in 1651. For his fascinating career see D.N.B., Lv, 8-9.
- (54) Gillespie, Sermons, N.L.S., MS.664A, p.527.

# "The Politics and Society of Glasgow: 1648-1674"

## Part one: The struggle for Kirk and King, 1648-52

### Chapter II The time of trial: the revival of malignancy in Glasgow, and the last years of the radical Councils, December 1650 - March 1652

Thus failed the Western Association. Six weeks encompassed its zenith and fall between Dumfries and Hamilton. Its military potential - considerable had Strachan's talent been used to full effect - was scarcely utilised. As it was Ker and Strachan had caused the royalists more alarm than the Cromwellians. Sir James Turner claimed that

'if Lambert had not, by good fortune to us all, beatten Colonell Ker at Hammilton, I beleeve the King had beene just as safe at St Jonston (Perth), as his father was at Westminister'.(1)

Not surprisingly the Association was declared void and its like banned by King and Estates on 28 December 1650.(2)

Yet in a negative sense the Association's political and religious platform, expressed in the Remonstrances, remained influential, for the withdrawal of the Remonstrants from the Kirk Commission contributed towards the passing of the Public Resolutions on 14 December 1650.(3)

This confession of defeat by the Kirk Party opened the Army to a wider range of recruits. It was the first step on the road to the repeal of the Act of Classes in June 1651,(4) which in turn allowed a wholesale return of malignants to office and army. In a positive sense however, limited by pressures of time and divided

- (1) Sir James Turner, *op.cit.*, p.93. Charles II's 'Start' for freedom from the Kirk Party may have been encouraged by fear of Strachan, and a Scottish 'Holmby House' (the incident in which Charles I was captured for the English Army by Cornet Joyce, with a 'commission' of troopers).
- (2) *A.P.S.*, VI, ii, 621; 630.
- (3) Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies ... III, 1650-52, ed. J. Christie, (S.H.S., Edinburgh, 1909), 159-160. (Henceforth General Assembly Comm. Recs., III).
- (4) *A.P.S.*, VI, ii, 676.

counsels, the Association was a pale shadow of its East Anglian predecessor. It took twenty years of Restoration Reaction to inspire a remnant of Scots to revoke their loyalty to the House of Stewart publicly, in the Declaration of Sanquhar.

With the passing of the Public Resolutions, Lambert had anticipated 'the sudden rise of a great army which will consist wholly of malignant people'.(5) Baillie reveals the temper of the Kirk Commission on 2 January 1651:

'I think tomorrow we shall give order to excommunicate Strachan and relax Middleton the next Sabbath. By the cunning of some, all ingadging officers and noblemen were purged out of our armies; but now I think all of them without any considerable exception are received'.(6)

With less self-deception, Turner confesses that there was much hypocrisy in this accomodation:

'Behold a fearfull sinne; the Ministers of the Gospel ressaved all our repentances as unfained, thoh they knew well enough that they were bot counterfeit; and we on the other hand made no scruple to declare that Engadgment to be unlaufull and sinfull, deceitfullie speakeing against the dictates of our owne consciences and judgments. If this was not to mocke the all knoweing and all seeing God to his face, then I declare myselfe not to know what a fearfull sinne hypocrisie is'.

Turner's own

'guilt in affronting the Ministrie (as they called it) in the person of Mr Dick of Glasgow and my other command in the West retarded my admission very long; but at

(5) Hist. MSS. Comm., Thirteenth Report, Appendix I, Portland MSS., pp.551-552.

(6) Baillie, III, 129. John Middleton was a royalist officer, raised to an Earldom and Lord High Commissionership after the Restoration.

length I am absolved and made Adjutant-General of the Foot'. (7)

In reaction to such developments many Remonstrants became obdurate, attacking the Kirk Commission and finally the General Assembly of 1651, becoming in effect, the 'Protesters'. The resultant schism in the Kirk was perpetuated throughout the Interregnum. Thus in the Western Association one may see a *manifestation* of that tradition of independence and radicalism in the West, which featured at Mauchline Muir, and continued painfully and obstinately throughout the Restoration Reaction.

The defeat of the Association had immediate results in Glasgow, removing at a stroke the main defence of the burgh, and a bulwark of the radical ascendancy. The burgh now came into direct confrontation with the English army, of a less civil nature than had accompanied Cromwell's visit of 11-14 October. On 4 December 1650, only three days after Ker's disaster:

'a great pairtie of that airmy lying at Hamiltoun, came down to Glasgow with thair swordis drawin, and carrabynes bendit, housed all the inhabitantes of the town, tuik sum of thame captives, spulzeit sum of thair houssis, appoyntit thair mayne gaird in the Gorballs beyond the brig, quhair thair robbed, spoyled, and rest thair gold, silver, cornes and cattle and plenesing'.

Again,

'Upone Settirday the sevint of December they also came in Glasgow, and upone the

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(7) Sir James Turner, *op.cit.*, pp.93-94. In fairness to Baillie, he was distressed to 'see numbers of grievous blood shedders ready to come in' (*Baillie*, III, 126), of which number Turner can be counted. Turner's 'other command in the West' involved the suppression of opposition to the Engagement.

morn thaireftir causit the haill inhabitantis of the town collect breid, drink, butter, cheis, fische, flesche, and all uther necessaris for thair intertanement, every hous a proportionall pairt according to ane roll set down, and put in Englische menis handis for the collecting thairof'.(8)

This was a great trial, for the burgh was already straitened by its efforts for the Western Association.

It had a result which upset Glasgow politics, for

'The Magistrates haiffing fled the town, the bodie electit a committee for this effect, (to supply the English) quhairof John Bell was preses, quha and his successouris in office actit thair pairtes gallantlie and wyslie'.(9)

This was the origin of that important extra-conciliar group, the Committee of the Communalty, in which a new generation of royalist establishment figures emerged. Their leader, John Bell, had married Colin Campbell's daughter, Janet, in 1649:(10) he was backed by her uncle, James Campbell, and continuity in the tradition of James Bell and Colin Campbell assured. The Committee's affairs are well documented, for their activities led to conflict with the magistrates, drawing government attention. In particular they are favourably publicised by Baillie and Nicoll, who blame the magistrates for deserting their charge at a time of 'extreame danger'.(11) This opinion must have been current for Arthur Tackettis was charged and jailed on 5 April 1651 for accusing the magistrates

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(8) Nicoll, Diary, pp.36-37.

(9) Nicoll, Diary, pp.36-37.

(10) Anderson, Provosts, p.19.

(11) Baillie, III, 161. It must be remarked that Baillie himself fled to Cumbræ on Oliver's first visit to Glasgow. He also admits avoiding direct confrontation with the Remonstrants on occasion. See Baillie, III, 119; 115-116; 121.

of breach of their oath of office in leaving town.(12)  
 Yet even Nicoll admits that the magistrates were held  
 back by scruple rather than fear(13) - after all Spreule  
 and Grahame were to show great tenacity in resisting  
 the Tender of Union early in 1652, when their dearest  
 principles were at stake.

Porterfield had quite openly explained

'that the magistrates could not have a hand  
 in the quartering of the Inglische enemy,  
 as being a thing accessorie to their  
 oppressing of the people, and for that  
 effect he had causit severall of the  
 townesmen to give thame notice thairof  
 for thair own exoneratioune'.(14)

Such scruples were all very well, but the burgh was soon  
 to be besieged on all sides with demands for supply.  
 First they had the English to contend with. Next  
 Sir Charles Erskine, Governor of Dumbarton Castle, was  
 authorised by Hamilton and the Estates on 18 April, 'to  
 seize on all the ammunition and arms that he can find  
 within ...Glasgow'.(15) Sir Charles did not hazard the  
 seizing, but was persistent in his demands. Finally the  
 King and Estates began issuing orders for supply to the  
 royal army between March and July of 1651, when they lay  
 at Torwood in the heart of lowland Scotland, where the  
 Wallace once stood at bay.

This rather desperate situation probably encouraged

(12) Glasgow Records, II, 201. By strange coincidence  
 Tackettis appears on the conservative Council of  
 March 1652 after the purge of the radicals.

(13) Nicoll, Diary, pp.30-31.

(14) Glasgow Records, II, 196-197

(15) J. Irving, History of Dumbartonshire, (Dumbarton,  
 1860), p.199. Quoting from N.L.S., Adv. MS . 19.2.16.  
 Dennistoun Papers, pp.493-5; Glasgow Records, II, 204;  
 S.R.O., PA. 11/11, f.16v. Register of the Committee of Estates, 18 April, 1651

the Estates to issue a pass on 17 March 1651 to 'Johne Deny merchant of Glasgow to bring victuall from Orkney or the Isles to the west cuntrie in a bark callit the Kathrein of Greinock'.(16) The Committee of the Communality had been attempting to cope with English demands by drawing upon the Excise returns - the usual emergency fund - but in attacking the vested interests of the Excise farmers, they also infringed Council authority. Now while the magistrates were glad to escape responsibility for dealing with the English, it was another matter to watch burgh funds go to the King and Estates in April 1651.

For the Glasgow radicals could not approve of the royal government in its present form - to them it reeked of a malignancy growing more evident daily. Thus they had joined in the Protests against the Public Resolutions - the Glasgow Presbytery's was issued on 2 January 1651, with Ramsay, Blair and Young dissenting (Baillie was in Perth). The Synod of Glasgow and Ayr backed the Protest on 3 April 1651.(17) This schism was completed at the General Assembly of St Andrews and Dundee in July, when the Protesters questioned its legality as a 'purged' meeting, and Guthrie and Gillespie were deposed from the ministry. Gillespie countered this at home by moving in the Glasgow Presbytery on 20 August 1651 'that those who had bein members of the late generall assemblie should not

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(16) A.P.S., VI, ii, 646. The Estates also curtailed Sir Charles Erskine's raids on Clyde shipping - See N.L.S., Adv. MS. 19.2.16., Dennistoun Papers, p.495.  
 (17) General Assembly Comm. Recs., III, 196-201; 392-3.

have any vote in presbitrie in any mater quo concerned that Assemblie and the acts and constiotiones thereaff'. (18) However he still had years of work to do before the Presbytery was safely packed with Protesters. These developments further isolated the Glasgow magistrates, placing the Resolutioners firmly behind the conservative opposition and the Committee of the Communalitie. The radicals responded by withholding all cooperation from the royal Government - John Grahame boycotted the sixth session of the Parliament of 1648-51, in marked contrast to the enthusiasm he and Porterfield had previously shown for work on the Parliament and its Committees.

With tension so high, all political weapons were unsheathed. Baillie claims that some of the Porterfieldians' associates were corrupt. He saw the Committee of the Communalitie as an elected responsible body, with a new sense of public accountability, in stark contrast to those who now were

'wont to manage the Excise in some part, as wes thought, for their owne and their friends' advantage, grudged to see that mean of profite in any hand other than their owne, and were pressing the magistrates to put the manageing of the Excise in former hands, who had never made so clear an accompt of their distributions as the Communalitie did'. (19)

Admittedly there were always opportunities for malpractice in the control of taxes and land allotments, but it would seem as if the excise farmers had abused their franchise

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(18) MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1650-54, p. 171.

(19) Baillie, III, 161.

in this case, and the magistrates' sins were in tolerating abuse. Unfortunately there is no record of who the farmers were in the accounts.

Corruption would of course have been particularly heinous in that government of the Elect affected by the Porterfieldians - it was to give their opponents great satisfaction to smear them with misappropriation of a collection for the distressed Christians of Poland and Bohemia after the Restoration. But corruption smears are an obvious political weapon, and Porterfield's general reputation was high - Spreule may have been more eager for the perks of the Clerkship. Although the Committee of the Communalty's concern for the public purse is commendable, its leader, honest John Bell, was less circumspect in later life, when his toryism prompted lavish expenditure for the Duke of York's reception in October 1681. Provost John Barnes subsequently accused him of quietly appropriating silver plate purchased for the feast 'by an surreptitious or clandestine act of counsell'.(20) But Barnes was responding to criticism of his excise accounts, and was indeed hauled before Privy Council in 1690 for embezzlement.(21)

In fact the real issue between the magistrates and the Committee in the Spring of 1651 became one of power, and accommodation with the King. Baillie assured Balcarras that there was

'a great enough readiness in the body of our Toune, and I hope of all the West, to ryse

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(20) Glasgow Records, III, 340.

(21) Ibid., 446; 456-7.

for the King, if they may safely doe it, not withstanding the great labour and diligence of some to the contrare'.(22)

Thus in the course of negotiations between Glasgow and the Royal camp from March to June 1651, it was quite common for the King and his advisers to approach the Committee rather than the magistrates, because they knew that the Committee would do more for them. They could only contrast this with the radicals' recent efforts for the Western Association.(23)

For instance when the Royal generals wrote to the Provost on 12 April 1651 demanding all the pistols available in the burgh and 1000 merks for a 'rutmaster Buntein', Grahame replied that they had neither pistols nor money to spare. The magistrates attempted to 'do their best with the rutmaster to put him by easy termis if possible', and sent an envoy to Stirling to plead poverty to Leslie.(24) Similarly when the King and Estates wrote on 17 April, asking for eight months' maintenance, eleven months' excise, and clothing for the garrison at Stirling, the magistrates replied that this was impossible under the circumstances(25) - in fairness, much of the excise had already been used - by the Committee - to supply the English.

However the Committee of the Communality had already

(22) Baillie, III, 155.

(23) The Burgh Accounts list an outlay of £901 8/8d on the quartering of '(Gilbert) Ker and (Sir Andrew Ker of) Greenheid's regiments' when they were in Glasgow for the Western Association. See Glasgow Records, II, 523, 'Extracts from the Burgh Accounts'.

(24) Glasgow Records, II, 202.

(25) Ibid.

been in touch with the Duke of Hamilton in March, expressing their utter loyalty. Hamilton replied promptly on 25 March, requesting services.(26) On 22 April he thanked them for a gift of £300 sterling.(27) This liaison should be borne in mind in view of the conflict which broke out between the magistrates and the leaders of the Committee on 29 April 1651. Moreover on 2 April the Committee of Estates ordered 'all such persons who have intromitted with the bygone mentenance of excyse of ye towne of Glasgow' to deliver accounts to the Commissar General.(27A) This suggests that the Bellites were already seeking government aid against the Porterfieldians.

Baillie gives a full, if biased, account of the feud which developed. Cromwell had returned to Glasgow on 19 April, and his troops were still in the burgh when the storm broke. The trouble started after

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- (26) Ibid., 200. William, 2nd Duke of Hamilton was well aware who the King's friends were in Glasgow - as Earl of Lanark he had officiated over the installation of the Porterfield clique in 1645, but soon turned against them. He had subsequently seen them oppose the Engagement, led by his brother, James, 1st Duke of Hamilton.  
(V.Supra, p.35. )
- (27) Ibid., 202-203.
- (27A) S.R.O., PA.11/11, f.4.

the sermon on Tuesday, 29 April, when John Spreule and John Grahame sent for the President of the Committee, John Wyllie, ordering him to 'desist from meddling further with the Excise, as belonging no wayes to them but to him and the Maigstrates to be disposed of as they thought expedient'. Wyllie, backed up by the late President, William Wodrow, refused. Grahame lost his temper, abused Wyllie and attempted to arrest him, whereupon Wyllie 'laid his hand upon the Provost's cloake and said, he charged him to ward for wronging the Committee of the Communalitie'.(28) Obviously the jurisdiction of the magistrates was now being threatened; this was a logical consequence of their loss of prestige in recent months whilst the Committee took over some of their functions.

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(28) Baillie, III, 162.

Grahame probably realised this when he challenged Wyllie. The affair was serious enough to be discussed forthwith by the ministers. Predictably, the moderates said it should be left aside while the English were in town, but Gillespie over-ruled them, and arranged to have Wyllie and Wodrow brought before the Council next day. (29)

On the 30th April the accused were, according to Baillie, delayed by the Provost from attending their 'trial'. In their absence the opportunity was seized to inflict upon them

'the most rigid sentence they were able, decernes their fredome and burgess-ship to be cried downe, as of men unworthie to live in the towne having affronted the magistrates contrare to their oath; also discernes them to be commanded to ward'. (30)

In contrast the burgh records merely describe the trial and verdict, underlining the gravity of a situation where

'it was thocht such a dangerous preparative that they knew no quhat punischment to inflict for the present; but, delaying farder censure, they all present appoynted tham both to have thair freedomes cryed downe presentlie and to be charged in waird quhill farder advysement'. (31)

The next difficulty arose in belling the cat. It was attempted, rather clumsily, that same day, when the magistrates and their supporters tried to rush the Committee leaders in public. Resistance was offered, and only the arrival of the English soldiers restored order - for which Baillie had to be grateful despite the affront of a quarrel

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(29) Ibid.

(30) Baillie, III, 162.

(31) Glasgow Records, II, 203.

before the enemy.(32)

This was a serious split, and both factions prepared to petition King and Parliament. Later that day, the magistrates and their allies in the ministry got together to prepare a case. Encouraged by Gillespie, John Grahame wrote a letter which James Armour took to the court at Stirling:(33) the radicals appealed to the King not so much through respect, but in anticipation of their opponents. Baillie was indeed advising the Committee to prepare their defence. He advised them to stress their honesty and self-sacrifice, for they had not started the violence but were only defending themselves against abuse by the Provost and the clerk. They were in any case always ready to give over their office to 'any who had interest, especiallie the King and State'.(34) Baillie advised them to appeal therefore to the 'highest magistrates, the King and Parliament themselfes' and he worked vigorously in the Committee's defence, appealing to Lauderdale on their behalf.(35)

The magistrates' position was quite vulnerable - they had already been uncooperative with the Royal Army as regards supply, and their authority in the burgh was at an all-time low. In the event of a Scottish victory over Cromwell they would have lost office for certain. Thus on 12 May Baillie could advise Lauderdale that: 'Fear frome some of yow, and counsell from some of us,

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(32) Baillie, III, 163-165.

(33) Ibid., 171.

(34) Ibid., 164; 171.

(35) Ibid., 172.

hes made our magistrates inclineable to give to your supplicants much of their desires'.(36) Even so, encouraged by the audacious Gillespie, the Porterfieldians were resilient. Hearing that they were to be called before the Parliament gave them the opportunity of engaging in the sort of grand debate so dear to the extreme Covenanters, where they could attempt to charge their local opponents with civil disobedience. Baillie confessed to Lauderdale

'that some incouragement, as it seems, from your act, hes made our magistrates so high that an accomodation here is impossible, bot when they come among yow I hope it shall be more feasible'.(37)

The Porterfieldians took no chances however, paying rutmaster Buntein his 1000 merks 'in all haiste'.(38) Again, when the King asked Magistrates, Council and Committee for £500 sterling (as the English had cut him off from most of his ordinary revenues) they attempted to raise the sum, plus 5000 merks owed in lieu of 100 troops. But now the townsfolk refused to pay stent, and the money was raised from loans by associates of the magistrates - such as William Home, James Kincaid and Thomas Campbell, craftsman.(39) Not to be outdone the Committee supplied the King with £100 stg., requested for distribution amongst his 'deserving' officers.(40) Significantly Charles assured them that

'Wee shall take a just course for causeing

(36) Ibid., 172.

(37) Baillie, III, 172.

(38) Glasgow Records, II, 204; Supra, p.78.

(39) Ibid., 205-206.

(40) Ibid., 207.

your present magistrats give an account  
with their intrusions with former  
stents for the Western Association?  
and as we do acknowledge your cheerfulness  
in obeying our commands so be  
confident of our protection in all your  
just concerns'. (41)

On 25 May the Committee of Estates summoned the  
magistrates before them to discuss their dispute with  
the Communalty, demanding to see the burgh accounts  
and stent rolls.

Apparently the magistrates refused to turn up,  
and an Act of Horning was issued against them by the  
leaders of the Committee of the Communalty. On  
25 June the Committee of Estates again reviewed the  
case. The lists of protagonists cited confirms the  
party allegiances operative in Glasgow which have been  
previously outlined in this thesis. The Communalty  
accused their enemies of 'uplifting their late yeires  
of certain great stents and other misappropriations  
from the inhabitants of the said towne'. (41A) The  
magistrates were again ordered to produce the stent

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(41) Ibid., 207.

(41A) S.R.O., PA.11/11, ff.75<sup>v</sup>-76<sup>v</sup>; S.R.O.,  
PA. 7/8/16.

rolls and accounts, which they did on 27 June.(42)

Behind this victory for the malignants of Glasgow were of course James Bell and Colin Campbell - the victims of the Porterfield coups of 1645-48. They were on the Committee of Estates on 6 June 1651.(43) In fact the extreme Covenanters were in retreat everywhere in June 1651. On 2 June their fundamental, the Act of Classes, was repealed:(44) two days later the Western Remonstrance was proscribed.(45) Argyll had fallen, and the radicals were isolated as many of their prominent supporters made their peace with the King. The conservative James Burns (or Barnes) of Glasgow commented gleefully that:

'Sir James Steuart ... Sir George Maxwell ...'

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(42) Glasgow Records, II, 208

(43) A.P.S., VI, ii, 685; S.R.O., P.A.11/11, f.48v.

(44) A.P.S., VI, ii, 676.

(45) Ibid., 683 (This legislation marks the triumph of Hamilton over Argyll. Hamilton was attempting to extract as much supply for the King from Glasgow as possible, as can be seen above).

and sundry other gentleman Remonstrators, went to Stirling to the Parliament, and passed from the Remonstrance, to Mr Patrick Gillespie's great grief. But his trustie friends at Glasgow, George Porterfield, the Provost, Sir John Cheisly of Carswell, John Graham, who was afterwards during the usurpation Provost of Glasgow, and Mr John Spreull writer and afterwards town clerk, adhered to it'.(46)

On 5 July 1651 fourteen Remonstrants including Sir John Cheisly, Colonel Robert Hackett, and four Glasgow men, Spreule, Porterfield, Grahame and Williame Dunlope, were summoned before the *Parliament* 'under the paine of rebellione and processe of forfaulting'(47) to explain why they had not abjured the Remonstrance. According to Wariston, public opinion was running strongly against the Remonstrants - Gillespie's wife could not be seen in the streets, and Sir John Cheisly was proclaimed rebel at Glasgow.(48) Despite this Gillespie went to the General Assembly at St Andrews in July 1651 'resolved to protest' and the Remonstrants took the vital step of rejecting the legality of a 'purged' Assembly, for which Gillespie and Guthrie were deposed. There is no record of further proceedings against any of these offenders at this time, but given the pressure of events on the King's Government this is scarcely surprising.

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- (46) Memoirs ... by James Burns, Bailie of the city of Glasgow, 1644-1651, p.20. In J. Maidment, op.cit. Burns, or Barnes, was a member of the prominent conservative family. His inaccuracy here is astonishing - John Graham was Provost until October 1651 - not Porterfield. But Graham was never returned again as Provost during the Cromwellian Union or at any time. Spreule was already Town Clerk.
- (47) Sir James Balfour, op.cit., IV, 310.
- (48) Johnston, Sir Archibald of Wariston, Diary, 1650-4, ed. D. Hay Fleming S.H.S., 2nd ser., 18 (Edinburgh, 1919) Henceforth Wariston, Diary, II.

Similarly no more is revealed about the inquiry into the dispute between the Glasgow magistrates and the Committee of the Communalitiy. The burgh records were returned after scrutiny at Court on 29 July 1651.(49) It can be presumed that the magistrates were told to work with their opponents in the defence of the realm, and so it was throughout the summer of 1651. On 25 June a further levy of 200 men was mustered, but the burgh was not entirely cowed - Niniane Anderson was sent to Stirling to protest against Leslie's nomination of the levy's captain contrary to 'the custom that has been used heirtofor in the lyk and vther of the towne's urgent effairis.'(50) Again, when the burgh was perfunctorily ordered to supply the royal artillery train with carts and workmen, James Kincaid was sent on 29 July to 'remonstrat to the King's Majestie the hard estaite and conditounne of the towne.'(51) He also appealed on behalf of 'the young men who war upon the associatiounne - i.e. the Committee of the Communalitiy - in respect of the grit sowmes of money cravit of thame', which suggests that the factions were indeed cooperating during hard times.

According to Baillie, Cromwell made a third descent upon Glasgow on 13 July 1651. He 'put his tents round about our town; ludgit in Minto's, distroyit barbarously

(49) Glasgow Records, II, 210.

(50) Ibid., 208.

(51) Ibid., II, 209-10. The 'associatiounne' here almost certainly refers to the Committee of the Communalitiy rather than the defunct Western Association. The term 'young men' was commonly used of the Committee's leadership. V.Infra, p.37.

cornes and yeardes; oversau plunder' and left again when the King came to Kilsyth.(51A) However relief from King and English demands on Glasgow was at hand. On 20 July 1651 Lambert defeated a Scottish detachment at Inverkeithing. Cromwell crossed to Fife, and moved quickly north to Perth, cutting the King off from northern support. The military stalemate had ended.

On 31 July the royal army raised camp and gambled on success in England. The subsequent defeat at Worcester, and Monck's success in subduing Scotland, must have been received with mixed feelings by the Glasgow Protesters, for despite the national disaster, defeat for malignancy gave them a new lease of life. George Porterfield was returned as Provost on 30 September, with his friends Robert Mack, James Kincaid and Thomas Campbell as bailies.(52) But even they must have been dismayed at the total humiliation of Lowland Scotland: incidents such as the capture of members of the Estates and Kirk Commission at Alyth, and the disastrous resistance and sack of Dundee in September, were completely demoralising.

The burgh did not have long to recover its fortunes after the departure of the King's main forces.

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(51A) Baillie, III, Appendix III, cx-cxi.

(52) Glasgow Records, II, 210.

The last demand from Charles came on 9 August 1651.(53) By 28 August the new English garrison of Stirling was demanding not mere necessities, but the luxury of five feather beds.(54) Sir Charles Erskine was again demanding supply for Dumbarton Castle.(55) The magistrates now felt strong enough to consult with the Committee regarding the collection of the excise, particularly after 'ane threatening lettre' was sent from Stirling. The scruples of last winter abandoned, Porterfield went in person to treat with the English, and £600

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(53) Glasgow Records, II, 211.

(54) Ibid., 211.

(55) Ibid., 212.

had to be borrowed to meet their demands.(56) By 11 October the magistrates were obviously in full control as the provost explained how the 'young men of the towne had quyt their collectionne of the excyis to the towne for the tyme to come bot had givine no money nor compt of byganes'.(57) John Grahame went to Stirling, taking one week's excise as down payment.(58)

However by 21 October Sir Charles Erskine was again creating trouble, demanding £661, and assuring emissary James Kincaid 'that he had our peoples' guids and would deteine them except he war payed of all as he told them'.(59) Erskine was acting on strict instructions from the King, who had written to him on 26 July, before his exodus to Worcester, in an effort no doubt to secure strongholds in his rear. He had been authorised to secure the Castle's supply for four months from

'within the shyres of Dunbartane, Ranthrow, Butt, or towne of Glasco ... to be repaid to the shyres out of the ... excise and maintenance of ... Glasgco. You are not to faill herein as you will answer at your highest perill'.(60)

Fortunately for Glasgow, the English were keen to control the Castle. Monk had noted that as

'Sir Charles Erskine pretends to hold only for the Duke of Lenox, whoe is under your protection, I humbly offerre it to your Honour whether it were not necessary for him to write to Sir Charles Erskine to render the Castle for the use of the

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(56) *Ibid.*, 212-213.

(57) *Ibid.*, 214 (the reference to the young men of the Committee is fairly common, suggesting young tory activists: certainly John Bell, the future tory provost, was of their number)

(58) *Ibid.*, 214.

(59) *Ibid.*, 214-215.

(60) J. Irving, op.cit., pp.201-202.

Parliament, which would save the state  
much charge in the reduceing that place'. (61)

When Sir Charles remained obdurate he was threatened with the sequestration of his Ochils estates (62) and this proved decisive. The castle capitulated at the beginning of January 1652. (63) Nicoll claimed it 'was Kowartlie randerit', (64) but the Glasgow magistrates were surely relieved.

The magistrates were able to direct their full energies towards local problems for a brief period between October 1651 and their next crisis - the Tender of Union - in February 1652. On 1 November they appointed a committee to investigate the condition of Gorbals, where the English had destroyed 'thair last yeiris croppe ... and als much of thair victuall the croppe 1650 was takin from thame'. (65) The magistrates were particularly concerned about Gorbals as George Porterfield had recently purchased the teinds from Sir Robert Douglas aided by finance from the Trade's House and Hutcheson's Hospital, (66) but on 6 February 1652 a general tally was organised 'of these who ar disabled to saw thair ground be reason of the losses they had fra the Inglische'. (67) The burgh was in arrears with the assessment - the weekly excise collections at the mills were proving insufficient - and

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(61) Scotland and the Commonwealth ... August 1651 to December 1653, ed. C.H. Firth, (S.H.S., Edinburgh, 1895), p.18, (probably from a report by Monck to the Council of State).

(62) J. Irving, op.cit., pp.201-202.

(63) Scotland and the Protectorate, op.cit., p.xix.

(64) Nicoll, Diary, p.79.

(65) Glasgow Records, II, 215.

(66) Ibid., 184-5; 188-191.

(67) Ibid., 218.

a stent had to be imposed on 10 January 1652 for three months' maintenance totalling £3600. This fund could also be used 'for helpe of these wha war weisted to get some reliefe'. To make stenting less noxious, the procedure was reformed: in the light of

'all mistackis anent the stentmasters thair awne stentis, it is condescendit that in all tyme comeing the stent masteris sall be restranit fra the power to impose thair awne stentis ... And the magistratis and counsell ar heirby in all tyme comeing to stent the stent masteris'.(68)

Despite its financial straits the burgh still had to bear the costs of the poor and casualties of war. Between Michaelmas and 27 December 1651 £268 7/- was paid out to 'hurt and lame sojouris laitlie come from Ingland and uther poor people'.(69) On 17 January 1652 the funds paid in by enrolling gild brethren and freemen for arms were directed towards the relief of 'poor boyes', and on 24 January the trade deacons relaxed their strict rules on apprenticeship to allow poor boys entry.(70)

In retrospect, the Porterfield administrations were at least as caring with regard to the poor and unemployed as any burgh government. The Scottish Poor Law was, and remained, a harsh instrument, rejecting any 'right' of the Poor - and in particular the able-bodied poor, or 'sturdy beggars' - to public relief. The national Kirk Party had passed a new Poor Law on 1 March 1649, which improved upon the late sixteenth century legislation.

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(68) Ibid., 217.

(69) Ibid., 216.

(70) Ibid., 217 (for arms fees, see also Ibid., 181).

It recognised that voluntary contributions were the main source of relief, but allowed for augmentation by a stent on 'heritors and others'. Beggars were to be sent to their own parish and there provided with work.(71)

This legislation is reflected in Glasgow policy. In November 1649 lists of the Poor were drawn up, and 'strainger poor' ordered out of town. The local poor were to be certificated, and given a dole which they would forfeit if caught begging in public.(72) In December 1649 they were even ordered to be 'diligent in searching the strainger poore in the towne and to put them out of the towne, and if they refuis ... themselfis to los their pensions'.(73) The magistrates were 'verie desyreous no to tak a course (of stenting) as is allowit be the law swa long as they may doe vtherwyse'(74) - naturally it would make them unpopular. Thus they told the Kirk Sessions to organise a monthly voluntary collection on 1 December 1649: if this were insufficient the deficit could be made up from the Excise. However by 29 December they were forced to threaten those who refused to contribute with billeting.(75)

The Porterfieldians attempted to implement the public works aspect of the new Poor Law. There already existed

(71) For an excellent survey, see R. Mitchison, 'The making of the Old Scottish Poor Law'. Past and Present, lxxiii, May 1974, 58-93; For the Poor Law of 1649, see A.P.S., VI, ii, 220-222.

(72) Glasgow Records, II, 177; 178.

(73) Ibid., 182.

(74) Ibid., 180.

(75) Ibid., 182.

an experimental cloth manufactory in the Dry Gait - it had been set up privately in 1638 by a group of merchants who planned to utilise the labour of the poor. Local weavers objected, suspecting undercutting by the paternalists: a compromise was reached, whereby only freeman weavers would be employed. The Bell family were closely associated with the venture but the Council bought James Bell out in May 1649. In March 1650 an English clothier, Simon Pitchersgill, was appointed manager and looms were ordered from Holland. A committee was set up to oversee the mill and they put poor boys to work therein in 1651.(76) This policy anticipates the Restoration legislation of 1663 and 1672, but it collapsed with the Porterfieldians. There is however an element of continuity in 'Poor Policy' which cannot be overlooked - the system of indoor maintenance, doles and banning of begging had been tried in 1638, and, as can be seen above, public works schemes were not new. In general however the conservatives who succeeded the Porterfield clique stressed the voluntary rather than the public aspects of relief.

There is normally little information as to who the Poor actually were, but among the many who attempted to survive in Glasgow during the winter of 1649-50 were a party of 'Hiland boyes'. In January 1650 two officers were appointed to 'tak a survey of the Hiland boyes and cause interteine them till the cold season pas'. In

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(76) Ibid., I, 385; 388; II, 166-167; 186-187; 199.  
 G.Eyre-Todd, op.cit., II, 218; 296.

February however a boat was provided 'for transporting the Hiland boyes aff the towne'.(77) Basically the Poor fell into two categories - local and 'strainger'. Locals had to be cared for, preferably in the Hospitals, with aid from session collections; 'Straingers' had to be expelled. Obviously in times of war and famine bands of wandering beggars flocked to the towns, just when townsfolk were also feeling the pinch. It was a vicious circle of deprivation and coercion, occasionally ameliorated by private charity - Sir George Maxwell's accounts reveal numerous examples(78) - and sporadic public sponsorship.

The Kirk Party's efforts to reform the Poor Law formed part of a fair body of social legislation. It was in their own interests to abolish lay patronage, but they went beyond self interest. In common with reformist groups in England, they set up a Commission to reform the Law itself, having before then the desire to create 'a constant certane and knowne modell and fame of law according to equitie and Justice established be publict authoritie'.(79) Sir George Maxwell of Pollok was a member. They probably achieved less than the Cromwellian administration - who for a brief season of rationality conducted public business in the vernacular, making sasines for example more accessible - but they tried. This progressive dynamic is often overshadowed by the association

(77) Glasgow Records, II, 183.

(78) S.R.A., T-PM 114/6 Pollok Maxwell Papers, 'Diary of Sir George Maxwell, 24 September 1656'.

(79) A.P.S., VI, ii, 299.

of the Kirk Party with moralising, austerity and bigotry. In all probability efforts to attain moral perfection were, as always, confined to saints like Sir George Maxwell of Pollok, whose diaries are dominated by introspection and guilt complexes: on 23 April 1656 the poor man wrote in melancholy:

'This is a day of much sin; falling into a greitous passion in my wiffe and proudly justifieing my sin. So yt ther is a concurrence of atheism, pride and hypocrisie. It is the more remarkable becaus yesterday my soull was under the meditation of its own immortalitie, and the certaintie of ane uncertain death'.(80)

Of course, as in all things, the Kirk Party attacked immorality with great zeal and endless legislation in that annus mirabilis of bureaucracy, 1649. They legislated against every conceivable expression of sin, from fornication (a great favourite) to fishing and attending salt pans on the Sabbath. With great ingenuity they introduced a sliding scale to deter fornicators - fines, previously a standard £40, now ranged from £400 for nobles to £10 for 'inferior persons' for a first offence: burgesses were rated at £100.(81) This was followed by acts against 'swearing, drunkenness and profanitie and scandelous persons'; 'Clandestine marriages' and blasphemy.(82) The Act against 'consulters with Devils and familiar spirits ... witches and consulters with them' narrowed the net to trap those who had considered themselves beyond prosecution.(83) In Glasgow

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(80) S.R.A., T-PM 114/6. Pollok Maxwell Papers, f.1 (front section).

(81) A.P.S., VI, ii, 152.

(82) Ibid., 174; 184-5.

(83) A.P.S., VI, ii, 152.

the case of Mald Galt of Kilbarchan was tried by the Kirk Session under Hugh Blair 'with concurrence of Mr James Durhame, Mr George Young, George Porterfield, proveist, William Dunlop, Baillyie and diverse uther sessioners' on 15 October 1649. There had been a dispute over a house in Briggait belonging to the Laird of Newark where dwelt the Galts. It was taken over by Jean Fisher, spouse of the unfortunate James Stewart younger, before Whitsun 1648. There had been a quarrel, and Stewart died within six months. Mald denied causing his death. (84)

However this frenetic legislation did not really achieve the desired results - Nicoll reported smugly that the Kirk Party's strictures were unheard: 'And as for adulterie, fornicatioune, incest, bigamie ... it did nevir abound moir'. (85) The moralists survived the fall of the Kirk Party - Sir George Maxwell was busy on the Quarter Sessions at Eastwood in August 1656, fining Will Renfrew 12 shillings for a 'single fornicatioune', and Jo. Muire 'for drunkenness 18 shillings' (86) - Will's fine was well below the statutory rate, but Sir George was a charitable man. Of course this was commonplace, and indeed the policy of public humiliation and fining seems every bit as active in the Glasgow Presbytery after the return of bishops as it had been during the reign of the

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(84) R.P.C. Scot., 2nd series, VIII, 1644-1660, (Edinburgh, 1908), 201-202. (Henceforth R.P.C. Scot.) This James Stewart is not the Provost, James Stewart of Floak - he died in 1653 (Anderson, Provosts, p.14).

(85) Nicoll, Diary, pp.3-4.

(86) S.R.A., T-PM 114/6, Pollok Maxwell Papers, f.14-15 (rear section).

Godly.(87) Witch trials continued into the 18th century - Sir George Maxwell himself was considered to have died at the hands of a witch in 1677.(88)

More positive were the Kirk's efforts to improve education, centring on the Act of 2 February 1646, which attempted to substantiate the old ambition of a school and master in every parish. Heritors had to provide a 'commodious' schoolhouse, and tax themselves for its maintenance and the master's stipend (ranging from 100-200 merks). If they failed in their duty, the Presbytery could appoint 'tuell honest men' to set up a school and stent for its upkeep.(89) This stimulated a spate of activity in Glasgow between 1646 and 1651. A Song or music school was established by John Cant, who also had to raise psalms in the Kirks on Sabbath and weekdays. He was paid £40 per annum as a basic stipend, and fees ranging from 30/- per quarter for teaching children 'vocall musick' to 40/- for 'instrumentall and vocall'.(90) The plague closed the College and Grammar school, but the schoolmasters were paid £55 redundancy money. In April 1649 the 'Doctors' of the Grammar school received pay rises as they tended to desert their charge 'quhilk haizards the los of the scoole':(91) the senior master

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(87) See S.R.A., T-PRES, Records of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 1663-1682, for numerous examples.

(88) In 1685 George Sinclair, Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics at Glasgow University - an otherwise constructive man of science, producing treatises on coal, etc. - published his Satan's Invisible World discovered ... (Edinburgh, 1685) It was a best-seller, granted copyright for 11 years by Privy Council and reprinted till 1871.

(89) A.P.S., VI, i, 554.

(90) Glasgow Records, II, 96.

(91) Ibid., 127; 161.

received a stipend of £100, and his assistant £60.

'Scotis scooles' for elementary teaching in the vernacular were encouraged(92) - by 1654, when the conservative Council reviewed policy, nine masters were in operation.(93) Poor children received a free education - on 17 September 1649 the Trades House raised an initial £154 9/6d towards the

'settling of ane scoole and scoolemaster for instructing of all poor childreine quha sall be put yrto and quhais parents ar not able to pay their scolledge for instructing of them having the glorie of God befoir thair eyes...'.(94)

At a national level the Kirk Party's reform policies, good and bad, positive and negative, reflected the infusion of new men and ideas into government. This process was initiated with the Covenants, and peaked with the defeat of the Engagers and the Act of Classes, in a popular movement which gave more power to lesser gentry, burgesses and ministers than they had commonly enjoyed in Parliament. The ground for such an advance had been prepared by the abolition of the Committee of Articles in 1640, the removal of the Clerical Estate of Bishops, and the establishment of a permanent Committee of Estates in 1643, giving continuity and breadth to the legislature - the sheer volume of the Acts of Parliament for the period fully reflect this revolution in government. All the classic features of Covenanter government

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(92) *Ibid.*, 96; 167.

(93) *Ibid.*, 284-5; V.*Infra*, p.124

(94) Records of the Trades House of Glasgow, 1605-1678, ed. H. Lumsden, (Glasgow, 1910), p.270; See also Glasgow Records, II, 159, for Poor School Stipends.

are reflected locally in Glasgow between 1648 and 1652 - the working partnership between ministers and burgesses in presbytery: the influence of lairds like Maxwell of Pollok: and the sheer dynamic of reform and legislation.

Again at a national level, David Stevenson has described how early sponsors of Kirk Party 'democracy' among the nobility, such as Argyle, became alarmed at the Leviathan they had awakened and turned towards the King in an attempt to restore their supremacy(95) - only to find the malignants entrenched for a brief season before the English conquest negated them all. The nobility were further estranged from the burgess class by virtue of their massive debts - Argyle himself owed Glasgow great sums, and even the Porterfieldians felt obliged to send John Graham to press him for repayment before their fall in March 1652. Their successors were less reticent but quite as unsuccessful.(96)

Like the national Kirk Party - of which of course the Porterfieldians were members - the Glasgow radicals were men in a hurry, seizing the opportunity to remodel society overnight like all vanguard movements.(97) Their policy reflected their prejudices and aspirations - it usually involved an increase in administration and expenditure for

(95) David Stevenson, op.cit., II, 855-856.

(96) Glasgow Records, II, 219; 253-4; 265; 494; V.Infra, p.119  
The Protectorate tackled the issue of debt in Scotland by an 'Act of Grace' enabling repayment at 1648 land values (A.P.S., VI, ii, 817-820; 822) The Convention of Burghs resisted all concessions to debtors, but after the Restoration a settlement favoured the debtors. See Convention Records, III, 386-7; 395-6; 414; 427; 430-432; 439; 442; and Infra, pp.195-6; 207-8

(97) Their haste was justified by events - all reform was bogged down in war and faction by late 1650.

the heritors and burgh officials. They were new men challenging the patrician merchant establishment in Glasgow. Predictably this created opposition - their opponents resented their exclusion from the decision-making process, and the costs and direction of the experiment. They charged the Porterfieldians with neglect of duty, slack fiscal policy and extravagance.(98) The fall of the Kirk Party is usually attributed in national terms to a growing weariness with extremism - David Stevenson has vividly described how those symbols of Covenanter rule, the Committees, became identified with oppression, high taxation and endless wars.(99) Yet the conservative opposition in Glasgow took over the Covenanters' technique, using the Committee of the Communalities against them. In fact, the radical Covenanters lost power in Glasgow due to the unswerving opposition and opportunism of patrician interests who had never accepted them. Ironically the occasion of the radicals' fall was to be when they belatedly attempted to define 'national interests' in Kirk, Burgh and State against the English conquerors.

After their defeat of all armed opposition in Scotland, the new English Government - the Commonwealth - set about a final solution of the Scottish problem. Its Commissioners set up house at Dalkeith on 15 January 1652. They proclaimed Parliament's Declaration of 15 October 1651, which anticipated Scotland's incorporation into a

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(98) V.Infra, pp. 111-13.

(99) David Stevenson, op.cit., II, 858.

compulsory union with her new masters. Ludlow regarded this as a 'great ... condescension', (100) but the Commissioners had wide-ranging instructions to ensure a suitable match, including

'to remove out of any corporation, or out (of any) office or place of magistracy, government, or authority in Scotland ... whom y(ou) shall finde unfit for the trust reposed in them, or to be dangerous to this Comon wealth, and you shall place others in their roomes ... for the good and peace of the people of this Island'. (101)

To the general instruction regarding church settlement they added an 'Explanation and Addition' of their own, which threatened toleration, for in addition to the upholding of the Kirk, 'others who, not being satisfied in conscience to use that form, shall serve and worship God in other Gospel way, and behave themselves peacably and inoffensively therein'. (102) The representatives of the burghs and shires were summoned to Dalkeith to give their assent (not to debate) to the Union, the final perfecting of which was to be carried out later, in London, by joint consultation.

The Glasgow 'burgesses and neichbouris' convened to elect a commissioner on 10 February 1652. Mr John Spreule was elected president of the meeting, and it was decided to send two commissioners: Spreule and John Grahame were elected, with William Yair to attend them. They had 'full power to conclud and agree to all suche proposallis as sall

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(100) Edmund Ludlow, Memoirs, ed. C.H. Firth, (Oxford, 1894), I, 298.

(101) The Cromwellian Union, ed. C.S. Terry, (S.H.S. xL, Edinburgh, 1902) p.xix.

(102) Nicoll, Diary, p.84; The Cromwellian Union, op.cit., xxvi.

consist with the guid of religion and our just fredome and weell being'.(103) On 21 February they reported back to the community, convened under Bailie Robert Mak, producing 'twa declaratiounes' given out by the English, and all present 'declared that they wer not satisfeit thairwith'.(104) It is important to note that although these meetings were chaired by the radicals, that the commissioners were elected by the burgh and that the English Declarations were rejected by common concensus (although it would seem as if these community gatherings were dominated by a few activists, for equal concensus is reported when the radicals were 'outed'). The next reference to events in the burgh records deals with an election (extra-ordinary of course as October was the usual date of election) by warrant of the English. This is dated 23 March,(105) but there is a blank space in the records, apart from this entry, between 13 March and 2 April, which suggests concealment of evidence. Fortunately Nicoll and other sources give information to fill the gap.

Spreule and Grahame took full advantage of their remit to reject the Tender, submitting their dissent on 24 February 1652 with determination and an austere dignity.

'After some weak endeauors used by us to know the Lord's mind anent the same(106)

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(103) Glasgow Records, II, 218.

(104) Ibid., 219.

(105) Ibid., 219.

(106) Spreule was strengthened in his resolve to resist the Tender by a dream, in which he found himself in a privy. See John Spreule, op.cit., p.14-15.

... (wee) most humbly begg leive to represent our dissent, as beinge unsatisfied in our conscience to conceive therein And that not from any politicke designe, nationall or personall prejudice or tenaciousness of things which wee account alterable'.

Although not insisting 'upon the way yor hons are pleased to take', despite the misfortune 'that in a matter concerning the whole nation there should be no Comune consultacon allowed', they were bound to find the Tender unacceptable on several grounds of conscience. In the first place, the nation already had

'all divine and human Rights to propties and to a self disposing power of ar owne government And also have the government of our Church setled, and have found gods sensible blessing accompaning the same; let it be considered, if wee can actively consent to such a tender by which all theise in our apprehension may be destroyed And so make ourselves guiltie of all the blood and treasure has bene spent in promotinge the worke of Reformacon ...'

In particular

'Because it doth by necessary and cleir consequence establish in the Church a vast and boundless toleracon of all sorts of errour and heresies without any effectuall remedie for suppressing the same'.(107)

Finally their

'consent was sought to an incorporacon, and yet no tyme nor way proport when such

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(107) 'Wicked toleration ... that hellish invention' (Baillie, III, 309) was repugnant to all Presbyterians - doubly so when imposed in an erastian manner by Government. Yet ironically the Cromwellian Toleration provided a mantle under which both Protesters and Resolutioners thrived to bicker amongst themselves: a paradox made only more bizarre by mutual petitions to the Government to reduce rivals. The problem was solved with the Restoration Settlement when toleration was less fashionable.

a thing may be made effectually, nor any  
plott or draught of it holden forth'.(108)

Certainly it seemed an impolitic way to enter a Union,  
although only the principle of Union was being put forward  
at this stage, with details to be worked out later:  
perhaps this illustrates the ad hoc nature of the early  
Commonwealth administration.

The English reaction to Glasgow's dissent was prompt  
and effective. 'Ane considerabill number of Engliche  
sodgeris wer sent west ... to be quarterit thair, and to  
do farder service ... in cais that burgh should not give  
obedience'.(109) This billeting quickly turned the  
tide against the magistrates: after all the burgh was  
exhausted after years of war, and they had made their  
stand too late in the day. A meeting of the community  
elected James Pollock and Walter Neilsoun as commission-  
ers(110) in place of Spreule and Grahame. These new  
agents not only docilely accepted the Tender, but  
according to Nicoll, made an agreement with the English  
to purge their own council:

'Thus thair haifing aggreit with the  
Engliche Commissioneris, warrandis war  
direct be thame as Commissioneris for  
the Parliament of the Commonwealth of  
England to remove the auld Provest and  
Bailleis of Glasgow ... and place utheris  
in thair rounes'.(111)

This is a serious charge, but it is fully borne out by the  
results of the following election, in which thirty two new  
councillors and officers (out of a total of 35 places) were

(108) 'Reasons for Glasgow's Dissent', in The Cromwellian  
Union, op.cit., pp.34-35.

(109) Nicoll, Diary, p.89.

(110) Glasgow Records, II, 220.

(111) Nicoll, Diary, p.89.

returned .(112)

This was virtually a bloodless coup on behalf of the burgh conservatives. Certainly the English would have been keen enough to remove the obstructive radical magistrates, as their Instructions entitled them to:(113) but they could leave the burgh to proceed with its election, only insisting that the King's authority be replaced by the Parliament's in all forms, and an oath be taken to uphold the Commonwealth by all office holders.(114) They knew that the magistrates' opponents would purge for them, and of course they did. A meeting of the community, chaired by John Bell, elected a new council and officers.(115) By some strange coincidence the replacement commissioners, Pollock and Neilsoun were returned as bailies in this and the next election - the beginning of a long career in burgh office: Pollock in particular was on every council for the next sixteen years, whilst Walter Neilson's ambition led him into devious conspiracies in craft politics. The new Provost, Daniel Wallace, had been barred from public office for his part in the Montrose affair of 1645. Of course Colin Campbell and James Bell returned to the Council, and the Andersons of Dowhill came back - John Anderson, elder, was elected bailie now, and was to hold some 25 terms of office in various capacities over the

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(112) See table VI, supra, p.51<sup>F</sup>.

(113) Supra, pp.99.

(114) Glasgow Records, II, 221.

(115) Ibid., Nicoll, Diary, p.89.

next generation. Only James Barnes and James Hamilton elder survived of the old Council. Barnes' Memoirs reveal his politics - of this election he merely remarks: 'The magistrates of Glasgow were chosen by the English faction to the great displeasure of the Gillespian faction'.(116) James Hamilton was another wolf in the Porterfieldian fold - his support for Turner's reduction of Glasgow in 1648 proves this - yet he seems to have been acceptable to both factions, for he had been elected Master of Hutcheson's Hospital and a bailie of Gorbals in 1651.(117) To ensure the smooth transfer of power, Monck appointed the new Governor of Dumbarton Castle, Captain James Thompson, to take the Council's oaths to the Commonwealth, and oversee burgh security.(118)

The new regime soon showed its teeth - the elections had scarcely been completed on 3 April 1652 when James Bell and John Dunlope went 'to speik with Mr Johne Spreule and to crave the keyis of the presse in the inner clerks chalmber, with the towns rentallis'.(119) Spreule treated them and their English mentor, Captain Thompson, with contempt, and William Yair - the faithful understudy - was appointed in his place. On 12 April Dunlope and John Bell were busy checking the poor lists and accounts.(120) On 21 April the collection of cash instead of arms from enrolling deacons, burgesses and guild brethren was suspended - this fund had been diverted to poor relief by

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(116) Memoirs ... by James Burns, op.cit., p.23.

(117) Glasgow Records, II, 214.

(118) Ibid., 222; 274-5.

(119) Ibid., 223.

(120) Ibid.

the radicals. (121) New brooms were at work: the ascendancy of the Porterfield clique was at an end.

The radicals had offended both conservative and moderate interests in the burgh, but even Baillie was plainly embarrassed when his allies of recent years accepted the Tender of Union. He confessed to Robert Blair that 'a pairtie of our Toune hes now done it publickly and privately: I have declared myself against it more than any other have done'. But he soon recovered, seeing a superior sin in the

'refuseall of those who make no scruple to lay aside the King and to make the third article of our Covenant stand well enough with freedome to chang Monarchie with a Scottish Republick: this to me is a high enough crime. Our Commonalitie wes never countenanced by me this last year in anything I knew, either then or now, to have been wrong'. (122)

In effect Baillie underlines the collaboration between the English and the new Council, and the continuity between the 'Commonalitie' and the said Council.

His association of the Protesters with republicanism is interesting in view of the affinity between certain extreme Covenanters and the English 'sectarians' which has already been considered in this study. (123) But evidence to substantiate Baillie's charge and identify a Scottish republican party is as yet unrevealed. His attitudes incidentally give an excellent example of how moderate

(121) Ibid., 224.

(122) Baillie, III, 175-176. The Third Article of the Covenant refers to the powers of King and Parliament respectively, as laid out in the Solemn League and Covenant.

(123) V. Supra, pp. 64-66.

opinion was forced to the right in Glasgow by the behaviour of the extreme Covenanters in power - compare for instance his attack on the Engagers in 1648 with his unstinted support for the Committee of the Communalty (a body dominated by ex-Engagers and their fellow travellers) in 1650-1651. His alliance with them was not long to survive the Restoration, although his naive faith in the King survived even the Church settlement which hastened his death.

Glasgow was not alone in its political strife as a result of the Tender of Union. Edinburgh held out against it until March 1652, when the long-delayed Council elections brought in more cooperative folk, who were 'accomptit to be Malignantis', keeping radicals like Sir James Stewart out of office - an offence to God and nature. The new officers were bitterly attacked by the ministers as 'abjured apostates' for having 'brokin the Covenant and renuncit it in sweiring obedience and loyaltie to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England'.(124) St Andrews had forbidden their Commissioner to accept the Tender until 'danger being presented, they fainted'.(125) Most of the shires and burghs accepted the Union proposals quietly, if without extremes of enthusiasm: the nation was impoverished, divided and demoralised, and the dissident few were easily reduced. Yet, typically, even now the factions fought each other: this may be regarded as political vitality, bigotry or mere perversity. The

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(124) Nicoll, Diary, p.88.

(125) Baillie, III, 175.

factionalism continued right throughout the Union, and the parties rapidly adjusted to petitioning London and the administration at Dalkeith for redress against local foes, in the best traditions of the nation since the betrayal of the Wallace.

Glasgow set a fine example in this respect in the spring of 1652. The expediency and lack of principle which brought Porterfield's opponents to collaborate with the English Sectarians to achieve his fall is indeed marvellous. Yet it followed in the pattern of electoral manipulation and outside interference in burgh politics which brought Porterfield's own group to power in 1645. The process of coup and counter-coup was well established by October 1648, and had Charles II succeeded in establishing a permanent government in 1651, the Glasgow conservatives would surely have petitioned him to remove the radicals from office. Their use of the English to do so was merely a new departure in opportunism, and the Protesters in Glasgow, inspired by Patrick Gillespie, soon surpassed their intrigues. Sir George Maxwell of Pollok seems even more depressed than usual by the developments of the spring of 1652, for he was deep in meditation on Reason and fools on the Sabbath Day, 11 April, concluding 'ffor what confusion lyk is that of a company of madmen'. (126)

# "The Politics and Society of Glasgow: 1648-1674"

## Part two: Glasgow under the Cromwellian Union, 1652-60

### Chapter III A malignant re-assessment: the conservative rule in Glasgow, 1652-55

'And albeit after the usurper had subjected much of this kingdom by tyranny, the occasion of these feuds, as well as all publick assemblies, had absolutely ceased, yet these opposite factions did wrestle against one another, in the maintenance of these unecessary differences, with more zeal than any of them would have done against (Turk and) papists; and whatever ignominious speeches the Assemblymen had poured out at first against the Episcopal party, these same and worse did the Remonstrators and Protestators, (for these two had joined in one), throw upon the Publick Resolutioners or Assemblymen'.(1)

Thus Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh scorned the Kirk politics of the Cromwellian Union. However the parties involved could not be expected to share his "rational, detached view." Although it would indeed have been constructive for the factions to forget their - to them very real - differences in the face of the poverty of the land and an alien government, there is always a limit to how far the more ardent spirits can compromise in their politics and religion. In fact there were attempts at union in the Kirk, particularly in the spring of 1652 when it was most needed to cope with the new Authority, but Resolutioner determination to uphold the traditions, protocol and institutions of the Kirk was largely responsible for the rejection of any union at this

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(1) Sir George Mackenzie, Memoirs of the affairs of Scotland from the Restoration of King Charles II ..., (Edinburgh, 1821), p.15. (Sir George, a staunch royalist and episcopalian was of course unsympathetic towards the Covenanters. As Lord Advocate, 1677-86, he had to bring prosecutions against them. An earnest attempt to establish Sir George's impartiality, listing his reforms to protect the accused, was made in J.W. Barty, Ancient deeds and other writs in the Mackenzie-Wharnccliffe charter chest ... with short notices of Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, (Edinburgh, 1900).

time. Baillie warned Robert Blair, who was attempting to conciliate the factions, that

'How gladlie I would be at Union in any tollerable termes many know, but for the quite laying aside all the acts of the last Assemblie, and that men censured shall not make so much as the least acknowledgement for all their erroneous and very evill Remonstrances, Protes-tations, and other miscarriages, whereby they have directly ruined the Commission and the Generall Assemblie, and hes been very instrumentall in the publict calamitie, and to this day goes on with a high hand in destructive wayes to their power ... I doubt it be acceptable to God, or the men's good, or can stand with the being of our discipline in any time to come'.(2)

His small group of dedicated Resolutioners blocked the acceptance of Durham's proposals of union in the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr in April 1652 by fabian tactics. He was unregenerate in his opposition to the uncommitted in June, advising James Wood: 'Beware of neuters their counsells; no man serves the dissenters so strongly as they: A great deal better for the trueth that they did declare themselfes opposite wholly'.(3)

Naturally the continuing struggle in the Kirk had its effect on burgh politics, but the direct link between the Council and the Ministry so obvious during the Porterfieldian rule - with the Porterfield men as 'ruling elders' in Presbytery - is less conspicuous after their fall. Of course there was a bond of sympathy between the new conservative Council and the minority Resolutioner group of Glasgow ministers, but essentially the merchant establishment had no desire to be theocrats. Their aim was to

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(2) Baillie, III, 176.

(3) Baillie, III, 187.

substantiate their grip on the burgh and increase their business. The radical leadership changed after 1652. Previously the Porterfieldians in the Council had set their own course, guided and supported by their allies in the Kirk, but they had lost bloc power in the Council and it was left to the Protester majority in the Presbytery, under Gillespie's rule, to force the pace of dissent. Naturally Gillespie tried his utmost to secure office for his lay associates, and they of course retained their places as ruling elders in Presbytery, but control of the Council always eluded them.(4) Hence the period 1652-1660 is one of clash between Town and Kirk rather than symbiosis.

The cornerstone of the opposition to the patrician establishment in Glasgow was the association between Gillespie and John Spreule, although John Grahame and one or two others did regain Council office between 1655 and 1658. George Porterfield's prestige remained high among the Godly, but he played a limited role after 1652. Thus it is more accurate to refer to the radical opposition group as Gillespian rather than Porterfieldian during the Cromwellian Union.

The early years of English control were dominated by conservative retrenchment in Glasgow - the radical experiment in burgh government by 'new men' was over. Domestic

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(4) Florence McCoy's work on Robert Baillie, already quoted in this thesis, has been very useful for my understanding of aspects of Kirk Politics in Glasgow, but she over-estimates the power of the Gillespie clique in lay politics after 1652. See also Infra, p.167 for further remarks to this effect.

recovery replaced national adventures in Kirk and State, partly because the English power was absolute, and partly due to the predilections of the new Council. A deliberate scrutiny and revision of the works of the Porterfield Council began. For example on 27 April 1652 they checked the accounts of the cloth manufactory, and although manager Simon Pitchersgill's contract was renewed in July, by April 1653 they had turned the whole mill over to him and abandoned municipal enterprise.(5) Yet municipal sponsorship was no mere radical aberration(6) - after the Restoration the Council developed port expansion.

Essentially the burgh patricians regarded themselves as the custodians of sound fiscal policy. It was on such grounds that they criticised the Porterfield clique - whose better ideas they were glad to adopt. On 29 May 1652, James Bell and Colin Campbell convened an interrogation of 'George Porterfield, John Grahame and Mr John Spreule ... for getting knowledge of the towne's burdein and debtiss and quhat they have done with these moneyis ...'.(7) A monument to their zeal survives in the meticulous accounts of the malt tax initiated on 22 March 1652, in which officers took turns to present the accounts to be audited by their colleagues. John Bell,

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(5) Glasgow Records, II, 225; 234; 264-265.

(6) In Aberdeen a House of Correction and municipal weaving mill was set up by private and Council interests in 1636. The Council took it over in 1657. It reverted to private control in 1698, and failed in 1711. See A. Keith, A thousand years of Aberdeen, (Aberdeen, 1972), pp.232-234.

(7) Glasgow Records, II, 226; 228.

James Hamilton and Manasses Lyall feature prominently as auditors. The first monthly accounts were presented by John Barnes, who unfortunately had financial lapses later in his career as Provost. Between 22 March and 12 June 1652 a total of £4755 was collected from the four mills, averaging £398 weekly. The outgoing sums cover the usual stipends and expenses warrands, but particularly conspicuous are the large sums, totalling £2633 6/8d paid out to Sir Robert Douglas for the Gorbals lands.(8)

With such costs one can understand why the magistrates were so keen to get everyone - including the English soldiers - to grind their malt at the town mills.(9)

In 1658 Baillie looked back and praised the management of the conservatives:

'The Magistrates of our towne have guided their affairs much better than they were wont to be here, or anywhere this day in Scotland; by a voluntar stent on the malt, they have paid near two hundred thousand merks on a verie great soume of debt left by the former Remonstrants by buying the Gorbals, Craig's, Blantyr's teinds etc., at great rate. They have payed the English maintenance, so that no man these three or four years of greatest burden, hes been stented to a shilling'.(10)

But the Porterfieldians' critics make no allowances for the pressures confronting them in office - they regarded Protester problems as self-imposed, although at one stage the Porterfield Council were besieged by demands for supply

- (8) S.R.A. A/5/2, pp.1-2. "Accounts of moneys collected weekly at the Mills for the public relief of Glasgow" (1652-1690).
- (9) Glasgow Records, II, 251; 314; 328. Garrison trade was lucrative, but the military could be competitive. In 1662 the excise farmer of Perth complained to Privy Council about the vast quantities of home brew sold by the troops to the citizens. See R.P.C.Scot., 3rd ser, I, 181
- (10) Baillie, III, 360. See also Nicoll, Diary, p.205.

from two armies and Dumbarton Castle at a time when food prices were very high. Law says that in 1651 'there was a great dearth in the land' (11) with meal at £20 per boll and malt as dear, and the Glasgow set prices reached a peak. Incidentally, although the incoming Council enjoyed a good harvest in 1652, they did not publish bread prices until 1658 when they were much reduced. The Porterfieldians' earlier ambitious policies had indeed involved the burgh in land costs, (12) but if they were so inept why were their services sought in public affairs later in the Interregnum? (13)

Nevertheless to the merchant burghesses who really counted in Glasgow, the 'tory' rule was attractive. It was their own rule. It was cheap and 'responsible' rule. It was not, at least for the moment, obsessed with high politics in church and state. Such a rule was predominant in Glasgow for the remainder of the Interregnum, and its principles were always popular in conservative circles. There was intense radical opposition, but the status quo had been restored and the position of 1645-1652 (when the malignant patricians were on the outside) was reversed in civic affairs. To their credit the new regime achieved economy without sacrificing public works - a new

(11) Robert Law, Memorials ... 1638 to 1684, ed. C.K. Sharpe (Edinburgh, 1818), p.5. For further comments on prices, V. Infra, p.172.

(12) Porterfield completed the Gorbals deal between 1648-1650 (it was first mooted in 1635) at a valuation of £6777 15/- sterling (G.Eyre-Todd, op.cit., II, 295) The opposition felt this was excessive, but M'Ure described the transaction as an 'unspeakable advantage' in the long-term. (J.M'Ure, op.cit., 247) In any case the burgh was slow to pay Sir Robert Douglas, contributing to his bankruptcy. It must also be

remarked that the Porterfieldians 'intreated' James Bell and Colin Campbell 'to joyn with them' in Gorbals land negotiations in February 1648. See Glasgow Records, II, 128.

(13) V. Infra, pp.173-4.

kirk, grammar school, mills, and new wells were built(14) - although poor relief became controversial. However all the factions were momentarily diverted from their confrontation by a great natural disaster - the Fire of June 1652.

Fire was a fearsome hazard in the congested closes of Old Glasgow, with wooden houses and domestic candlemaking.(15) The danger was all the greater in 1652 - Nicoll refers constantly to the 'continuall heattis of all the monethis till the end of December, and eftir that to the 3 of Januar 1653'.(16) Wariston heard a rumour that the Fire was started 'upon the shot of a muskett in a thak house by ane of the Englishes, whither of sett designe ... I knowe not ...'.(17) The Council minutes merely record stoically:

'Forsameikill as it hes pleased God to raise on Thruisday last ... the 17 of this instant, ane suddent fyre in the hous of Mr James Hammiltonne above the crose ... quhairby efter compt, it is fund that thair will be neir four scoir closses all burnt estimat to about ane thowsand families, so that unless spidie remedie by vseit and help soght out fra such as hes power and whois hartis God sall move, it is lyklike the town sall come to outer ruein'.(18)

The ordeal by fire was protracted - Lamont says that there were two outbreaks within three or four days: '... the first fyre continued for the space of 18 hours, the nixt

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(14) Baillie, III, 360; Nicoll, Diary, p.205.

(15) The magistrates acknowledged the fire danger from candlehouses after receiving a petition against them on 22 December 1649. They suggested steps be taken to remove the trade from the city area, but this was not done officially until after the Fire. See Glasgow Records, II, 181; 300-1.

(16) Nicoll, Diary, p.103.

(17) Wariston, Diary, II, 1650-54, ed. D.Hay Fleming.

(18) Glasgow Records, II, 230.

about 12 hours'.(19) Conditions must have been appalling, with the fury of the blaze on a hot summer's day. The magistrates did their best to console and refresh the folk by distributing beer at the Trongait - the ale seller, Marie Scharpe, made sure she was reimbursed several months later.(20) Among the victims was 'ane Jonet Wood quha was deidlie woundit in helpeing to quench the fyre quhich brak vpe in the north syde of the Trongait': again the magistrates were considerate, ordering the treasurer to pay 'William Clydisdail fve punds ten schilling' for treating the poor woman.(21)

Indeed the tragedy brought out the best in the magistrates: the tight control and paternalism of burgh society came into its own. Outside aid was immediately sought - the magistrates sent straight to Ayr, seeking letters of recommendation from Colonel Overton with which to approach Dalkeith and Parliament itself.(22) This gives a fair indication that the magistrates accepted the English presence and had confidence in its charity. Inventories and valuations of the damage were compiled. Building rates were fixed, with strict rules against profiteering. The townsfolk were given permission to employ outside labour at the fixed rates if local trades could not cope.(23) Quarrymen were hired to provide stone for rebuilding,(24) and probably to discourage the

(19) The Diary of Mr John Lamont of Newton, (Maitland Club; Edinburgh, 1830), pp.42-43. (Henceforth Lamont, Diary).

(20) Glasgow Records, II, 244.

(21) Ibid., 233-234.

(22) Ibid., 230.

(23) Ibid., 231-233.

(24) Ibid.

use of timber (although this was not banned until after a second great Fire in 1677).(25) Although it was vital to provide shelter for all before winter, the rebuilding was not to be haphazard - the old style of overhanging garrets above canyon closes was out - in the new Saltmercat 'all houssis on both sydes of the gait(to) be buildit conform to ane straicht lyne, and none to come farder out then another'.(26)

Efforts to secure aid continued. Emissaries went to Edinburgh on 8 July 1652.(27) On 9 August Bailie James Pollok travelled to Ayr to plead for a reduction in the assessment and donations from the garrison: the cess was reduced by half.(28) On 4 September 1652 John Wilkie was sent to organise relief in London. He was supported by the London Presbyterians - Edmund Calamy raised a collection from his congregation and backed the appeal to Parliament.(29) On 17 September Parliament directed £1000 sterling towards fire relief, to be paid from the Treasury of Sequestrations in Scotland.(30) Although the Convention of Royal Burghs - which normally co-ordinated burgh relief funds - was in

(25) Ibid., III, 244.

(26) Ibid., II, 233. Re-development was still going on in 1661, with faction among the developers. Ninian and John Anderson had rebuilt tenements destroyed near the Cross, and opposed the plans of Matthew Cumming to build a sidewall and close nearby which would block their light. Cumming took the case before the Estates (normally the Dean of Guild adjudicated). See A.P.S., VII, 178-179.

(27) Glasgow Records, II, 234.

(28) Glasgow Records, II, 237; 239.

(29) Ibid., 240; 244; Baillie, III, 224-5.

(30) A.P.S., VI, ii, 775; Glasgow Records, II, 247.

abeyance at the time of the Fire, (31) individual burghs from Leith to Tain (32) gave voluntary contributions which Glasgow emissaries collected personally over the next year.

The trial by fire might have been expected to produce a widening of community spirit, but the political factions remained obdurate. The Porterfieldians were virtually excluded from a role in the burgh reconstruction programme - only Edward Robison, an experienced master of work, and James Kincaid were employed: (33) a third member of the radical Councils, Andrew Cunningham was called upon, but he had found his way into the new Council. This may well have been because the Protesters took the opportunity to view the Fire as a visitation of the wrath of God upon their opponents: 'the ministers preached that ...

(the Fire) ... was for their compliance with the (English) Sectaries'. (34) Wariston describes

'the strange waye of the fyre crossing streets and leaping over Geo. Porterfield's (who hes been one of the constantest and boldest men for the cause in all the toune, and may worst bear a losse in his estaite) house, brunt every wheir about it but not it, and tho it begoud at an honest man's house, yet it hes lighted most on the heape of the Malignants and substantious men in toune'. (35)

Wariston's association of malignancy and property substantiates the theory that the radicals were 'new men' who temporarily ousted the local patricians from power. (36)

(31) The Convention re-convened, by warrant of the English, to deal with Union negotiations on 12 August 1652. Convention Records, III, 358.

(32) G. Eyre-Todd, op.cit., II, 310.

(33) Glasgow Records, II, 230-231.

(34) Whitelocke's Memorials ... , (London, 1732), p.357. Quoted in Wariston, Diary, II, 176, F.N.I.

(35) Wariston, Diary, II, 176.

(36) V.Supra, pp.44-9.

However the Lord's influence was not exerted for the Protesters in the burgh elections of October 1652, where the conservatives carried all before them, backed by the temporal sword of the English. The Lennox Commissioner nominated Daniel Wallace to continue as Provost, (37) and there were only seven changes from the previous Council. None of the Porterfield's set were returned.

The basic policy of the Council remained to review the works of the radicals and to balance accounts. Just before the election they had tackled the allocation of ministers' stipends, which were administered by the magistrates. The previous administration had 'allocat to thair ministers, in pairt payment of thair stipends the teynds boght be the toun ... (with) all alyk thairanent'; but to their surprise the scrutineers found that the Protesters, Gillespie and John Carstairs, were receiving far more than the Resolutioners, Hugh Blair and George Young, of Tronkirk. (38) This imbalance was soon corrected, and no doubt the magistrates would have loved to cut Gillespie's stipend off entirely, as he was a deposed minister. But the English Administration reserved the right to depose and appoint all ministers, and Gillespie, with James Guthrie of Stirling, was sustained by 'the English countenancing them ... contemning the authority of the Assembly'. (39) Of course Gillespie himself had no scruples, as he rejected the legality of

(37) Glasgow Records, II, 247.

(38) Ibid., 240-242; 245-246.

(39) 'Collections by a Private Hand at Edinburgh', p.55, In J. Maidment, op.cit.

the General Assembly of 1651.

The Council made a strenuous effort to recover Argyle's debts - on 27 December 1652 'ane sharpe letter' was sent 'for ingetting of these moneyis owin be him to the towne and hospitallis, for defraying of the towne's burdeings'.(40) But all pressure, including a court action instigated on 21 May 1653, gained them nothing as late as 1662.(41) In 1658 Baillie reckoned Argyle's debt at 7-800,000 merks on which he could scarcely pay the annual interest.(42) The town's 'burdeings' were however equal to the repayment of long-standing debts to the Council's friends - on 23 April 1653 they reviewed a supplication 'be severall honest men wha lent the 20,000 li efter Philiphauch to the publict'.(43) The books were checked and the debts confirmed: on 26 November the honest men were awarded compensation in three annual instalments, with the town's fourth share of the Gorbals lands as security.(44) In January 1653 the accounts of the Committee of the Communalilty were finalised - the preamble to the report loses no opportunity to castigate the Porterfieldians and sanctify the 'young men' of the Committee.(45) Thus policy remained aggressive, if not

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(40) Glasgow Records, II, 453. The Argyle debts were contracted in 1635, when a sum of £10,000 collected by the citizens of Glasgow for the endowment of Blackfriars Kirk was lent to Argyle. The bond was later transferred to Hutcheson's Hospital, and taken over by the burgh in 1659. See Glasgow Records, III, 294-5, F.N.I.

(41) Ibid., 265; 494.

(42) Baillie, III, 387.

(43) Ibid., 264; 274.

(44) Ibid., 281. For John Bell's attempts to recoup these costs from the Estates after the Restoration, V. Infra, pp. 206-7.

(45) Glasgow Records, II, 256.

openly reactionary. However the difficulties of governing the burgh after the ravages of war and fire (and despite the rearguard resistance of the Protesters) are evident in two major domestic issues - Poor relief and reconstruction.

Following the Fire the magistrates had been both considerate and effective in caring for the distressed - for example they insisted that widows and orphans had first call upon the relief fund.(46) However they ran into difficulties with their general Poor policy when the Protesters opposed them and

'the magistrates and counsell are slichted and vilipendit be sundrie of the ministers and Kirk sessiones ... the poor is neglectit thairby and the contributioune appoyntit to be colectit for thair mentenance is slichtit be mony'.(47)

It is difficult to believe that the Protesters were deliberately injuring the Poor - more probably they felt that the Council were skimping on relief to avoid unpopular stenting, and were applying sanctions to force the issue. Such policies of non-cooperation were to be common after the Restoration.(48) In response the Council attempted to embarrass the Protesters by sending James Pollok off to organise a collection from the Presbytery of Edinburgh.(49) The issue smouldered on - in the following Spring the magistrates transferred responsibility for relief from the Presbytery to individual kirk sessions.(50) The practical result of such contests of principle was of

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(46) Ibid., 242.

(47) Ibid., 248-249

(48) V. Infra, pp. 238-9.

(49) Glasgow Records, II, 249.

(50) Ibid., 263.

course that relief was obstructed.

Meanwhile the crafts were finding it hard to support their charities after the expense of the Gorbals transaction, and 'Thaire poore decayit brethrein did daylie greatumlie multiplie and increase'.(51) The Council allowed them to increase the burgess fees for strangers by £10, whilst Honorary Freemen who wanted to practise a craft now had to pay £20 on entry. The soldiers billeted locally were always a burden, and the magistrates arranged for poor folk faced with billeting to receive two shillings nightly in compensation.(52) To make matters worse the burgh's charitable institutions faced hard times due to loss of income due to bad debt. The new Hutcheson's Hospital had to send its boys out to domestic care in June 1652. In May 1654 'seeing now, be the mercie of God, victuall is ... at ane cheip rate',(53) the Master reduced the inmates' subsistence by one-third. Finally they decided to admit no more inmates, young or old, until the rents were secured. The Council tried to help by pressing Argyle, Colquhoun of Luss and Maxwell of Pollok to settle accounts.(54)

On the credit side, Zachary Boyd left a £1000 to the College (the nucleus of Gillespie's building fund) and Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit established bursaries for the education of poor boys - especially those named Scot.(55)

(51) Ibid., 250.

(52) Ibid., 267. Among the billetters was Lieut. Col. Cottrell, who was very decently received in June 1653. Next month he had the task of evicting the General Assembly in Edinburgh.

(53) Glasgow Records, II, 227-228; 288.

(54) Ibid., 265-266.

(55) Ibid., 266; 267; 333-335.

In July 1654 the Protector granted an abatement of the Cess for fire relief - which was some compensation for the costs of his soldiers billeted on Glasgow.(56)

The Master of Hutcheson's reference to 'cheip victuall' is interesting, since high commodity prices had been common since 1645, undermining the popularity of the Porterfield Councils - although of course prices did not fall immediately the Council changed hands. Bread prices were at a ceiling in 1651, that year of 'dearth', at 2/8d per pound. No rates are given for 1652, but the fine weather probably produced good grain harvests outside dry areas: by 1658 when bread rates are again listed, a fall to around 1/5d per pound is registered. However beer and ale prices remained high in 1652, falling by 1654 when they are next listed. Only tallow and candle prices definitely fell in 1652.(57) The general reduction in the cost of living by the Spring of 1654 is made further obvious by the 'great outcry maid be sundrie of the inhabitantis for that thair is no notice taikine for rectifeing of the rollis for the poore now when victuall is come so cheipe'.(58) A new poor roll was arranged for

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(56) Ibid., 291; A.P.S., VI, ii, 755. The burgh's difficulties in raising the Cess are apparent later in the year when Gillespie and John Grahame were asked to intercede for further abatement. See Glasgow Records, II, 299; 301-302.

(57) See Appendix II for commodity prices, 1638-1690. The magistrates were very particular about the bread supply - which suggests that the townsfolk preferred bread to the commoner oatcakes and bannocks - in 1655-6 they found the local bakers so lacking that Edinburgh craftsmen were invited to raise standards. See Glasgow Records, II, 323; 330.

(58) Glasgow Records, II, 283. T.M. Devine has recently remarked on the fall in the cost of living in Glasgow after 1651, as part of an excellent re-assessment of economic conditions in Aberdeen and Glasgow during the

August, so that the poor did not profit at the expense of honest burgh folk.

The reconstruction of the burnt-out areas created tension among the crafts, who resented the employment of outsiders, even at fixed rates. On 5 February 1653 there was a minor riot when

'sundrie of the wrights, jurneymen and prenteisses, to the number of twentie four or thairby, committed this day in the citie ... ane heich and manifest contempt and insurrectioun, joyneing in ane bodie, goeing throw the hail streitis of the town with cleukis and balstones in thair hands, and paseing frae house to house belonging to honest men wha had thair landis brunt, and whair stranger wreichtis wer working ... strecking the people thairin and abuseing and brackine all thair worklomes in ane heich and contemptuous way'.(59)

The wrights came before the Bailies on 1 May, but won their case by 27 August when stranger wrights were restricted. Indeed on 19 November the outsiders were told to make weekly contributions to the collection box of the local trades - 4/- for a master and 2/- for labourers and apprentices.(60)

After the shock of Fire attempts were made to improve fire-fighting techniques. The standard equipment was simple - water buckets and ladders - and the buckets were

Cromwellian Union, which questions the traditional pessimistic view initiated by Theodora Keith. However Dr Devine is slightly inaccurate in suggesting that fixed food prices were abandoned in Glasgow after 1651, as conditions improved. See T.M. Devine, 'The Cromwellian Union and the Scottish Burghs: the case of Aberdeen and Glasgow, 1652-60' In Scottish Themes - essays in honour of Prof.S.G.E.Lythe, ed. J. Butt and J.T. Ward, (Scottish Academic Press; Edinburgh, 1976), p.15.

(59) Glasgow Records, II, 259.

(60) Ibid., 264; 273; 281.

often 'stoline away and brokine'. The Council ruled in February 1653 that guild brethren and burgesses should pay £5 'bucket money' above their enrolment fee. On 31 December this fund was used for 'three scoir lether buccatis for the town's use with the name GLASGOW thereon in great lettres', all to be delivered by sea.(61) Later Glasgow copied Edinburgh's example - there had been fires in the capital in October and December 1654, and after organising a collection for relief in 1656,(62) James Colquhoun, wright, was commissioned to attend to 'the macking of the ingyne for casting watter on land that is in fyre, as they have in Edinburgh'.(63) The bucket money paid for this device which Colquhoun stored safely near his house: its future career is not recorded, but by 1661 the bucket money had been re-directed towards buying arms.(64)

In March 1654 the Magistrates initiated a review of yet another bastion of Kirk Party policy - education. They organised a visitation of the 'hail Scotis scooles' under James Bell, to 'report what they ar wha holdis scooles and be what warrand, and ordaines the ministers to be warnit to that effect'. They obviously thought previous control had been too casual, finding 'efter tryell that sundrie persounes had takine vpe scooles no wayes being authoreizit be the magistrates and counsell, quhilk is against all reasone or forme ever heirtofoir observit in the lyk'.(65) There were indeed nine masters in operation,

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(61) Ibid., 260; 280.

(62) Ibid., 331-2.

(63) Ibid., 344; 366; 367; 368.

(64) Ibid., 474.

(65) Ibid., 284-5.

but the Council allowed them all to continue teaching after demanding proper supplications, and two more dominies were enrolled.

In fact Council wrath was reserved for James Porter - an associate of the Protesters. He was severely accused of having 'usurpit the priviledge of holding and keeping of ane scoole': having failed to hand in his supplication with the others, he was peremptorily banned. Moreover he was refused the stipend 'allegit promittit to him out of the rentis belonging to the merchand hospitall quhilk is only destinat for sustentatioune of the poore' - Porter had claimed this fee in return for teaching the poor, which was quite 'contraire to all reasoune and equitie' (66) as the Scots schools had to teach the poor free. Of course the magistrates' main aim was to cut out perks and allowances distributed by their predecessors, and in dismissing Porter's claim they made a blanket rejection of all such doles.

At this stage they were basically concerned to keep schools under surveillance - in April 1654 they checked on the number of poor at John Paterson's school, planning to redistribute them if there were too many. But after initial caution the Council were very positive in their approach; they rebuilt the Grammar school in 1656, (67) and encouraged the most progressive enterprise to date under James Corse, a local man 'naturallie adictit to mathematics and wther sciences from his infancie'. In

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(66) Glasgow Records, II, 285-6. Porter, not surprisingly, became a bitter enemy of the Council and aided Gillespie's plots. V. Infra, pp.201-2.

(67) Glasgow Records, II, 329-331.

August 1660 Corse was given a stipend of 100 merks to teach 'theis artes and sciences in the vulgar native tongue, quhilk hes not bein done formerlie in this kingdome for want of incuradgmentis'.(68) Recently encouragement had been given by the Government's use of the vernacular, and an 'Inglishe schoole' had been established by Alexander Wilson in the Gallowgait by popular request in February 1659.

After the fall of the Porterfield Council the troubles in the Kirk in Glasgow intensified. Not surprisingly, the new magistrates decided to find out what the Porterfieldians and Protester ministers were up to in the Presbytery. On 5 May James Bell makes his first appearance as a ruling elder, and appears on every sederunt traced until 22 July, usually backed by his ally and future Bellite craft councillor, James Wadrop.(68A) Despite this the Porterfieldian elders were sufficient in number to carry a motion of Gillespie's on 7 July regarding the election of delegates to the General Assembly; the combined votes of Protester ministers and their elders defeating the Resolutioner group. In reply Baillie submitted a written protest against Gillespie's participation while a deposed minister: this was supported by George Young, Hew Blair and Gabriel Cunningham.(68B) Again in early October Baillie complained about the Protesters' domination of the Presbytery via the moderatorship. However on 22 October, when he was absent, the

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(68) Ibid., 448; 456; 413.

(68A) MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1650-54, 61-65.

(68B) Ibid., 64.

Protester ministers formed a majority for the first time.(68C)

When the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr met in October

'thair rais much contraversie amongis thame, and with great difficultie could ane Moderator be chosin be resoun of the differencis amongis thame; so that twa dayis and almost a great pairt of the nycht wes spent in this electioun.'(69)

Eventually a moderate Resolutioner, James Ferguson of Kilwinning was elected, but it proved a pyhhric victory for nothing else was achieved. Gillespie was aiming to completely take over the Presbytery for the Protesters - according to Baillie:

'The churches of Leinzie, Cathcart and Kilbride, they will plant only with the most violent young men of their owne side, and are sure, by one mean or other, to marre all others to the utmost of their power.'(70)

The Protesters were obviously aiming to plant the out-lying parishes in the Presbytery to secure control, as the parties were almost balanced in the City, with John Carstaires, Andrew Gray and Patrick Gillespie for the Protesters, and Hugh Blair elder, Zachary Boyd and George Young for the Resolutioners. James Durham stood between the parties, and Baillie, although obviously for the Resolutioners, held no charge in addition to his post of Professor of Divinity, but had a vote in the Presbytery.

Matters came to a head at a meeting of the Presbytery on 12 January 1653. A full complement of 9 Porterfieldian elders and 2 others were there at the morning meeting.(70A)

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(68C) MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1650-54, 70; 75.

See also F.N. McCoy, op.cit., pp.153-6.

(69) Nicoll, Diary, p.102.

(70) Baillie, III, 193.

(70A) MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1650-54, 105.

During this session Gillespie objected to the presence of members of the Synod - probably brought in to curb his influence. His group walked out. At the afternoon session, the rump of Resolutioner ministers were accompanied by a new batch of ruling elders, and the 2 non-Porterfieldians from the morning session. This sederunt of ruling elders included James Bell and people like Robert Boyd of Drum, James Wadrop and Donald McLachlan, (70B) who attended the Resolutioner Presbytery for the next few months until elders disappear. This meeting marks a complete schism in the Presbytery, with the Protesters establishing their own body from now on.

The Protester Presbytery was soon to become dominant. They had no scruples about bringing the English in to support their advance. In the test-case of Wester Lenzie(71) early in 1653 the Resolutioners selected James Ramsay (son of Robert Ramsay, Baillie's predecessor at the College) but the Protesters raised a petition of 27 parishioners against Ramsay which split the parish. Ramsay was ordained on 9 February 1653, but the English Judges had been petitioned by the Protesters and they directed that:

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(70B) MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1650-54, 105.  
 (71) The parish of Lenzie, to the north east of Glasgow, below the Campsie Fells, was divided into two parts in 1649: Wester Lenzie (now Kirkintilloch) and Easter Lenzie (later Cumbernauld) Florence McCoy confuses this parish with the present town of Lenzie in this district (F.N. McCoy, op.cit., p.155) Easter Lenzie received its first minister, Thomas Stuart, in 1656. See Fasti, III, 384; 482.

'Whereas power and authoritie is given to us, the Commissioners for visiting the Universities, Colledges, and Schools of learning in Scotland, by the Parliament of England, to see all vacant Churches in this land supplied with godly and able ministers, according to our former declaration, we conceive it fitt ... to give yow notice thereof so ye may forbear to attempt to settle any minister in any church within your Presbyterie, without our approbation least ye contract a further trouble upon yourselves and the people whom ye thinke to pleasure therein.' (72)

Ramsay was ordered 'not to preach in that church, and the people not to hear him under high paynes' despite local support. An 'English sectarie', named ? Beverlie was ordained by the Protesters previous to 28 April 1653. (73)

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(72) Baillie, III, 209.  
 (73) Fasti, III, 482.

He had removed by 1655, to be replaced by the Protester, Henry Forsyth.(74) Such methods broke the resistance of the Resolutioners and by 1654 the Protesters dominated the Presbytery - information for Presbytery affairs between 1654 and 1663 is limited as the Records are missing.

Patrick Gillespie was the power behind the Protesters' offensive and collaboration with the English. In effect he was stealing the burgh magistrates' clothes, by using their allies of March 1652 against them. The second prong of his master-plan to gain 'the full rule of our Colledge and Presbyterie' (75) was struck home when Gillespie was offered the Principalship of the College by the Visitors early in 1653. Naturally Baillie objected - not only was Gillespie a deposed minister, but he was 'not furnished with that measure of learning which the place of our Principal doth necessarily require'.(76) This opinion of Mr Patrick's capacity had not been shared by the Parliament in 1649, when they appointed him as a Visitor to the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, (77) but certainly Gillespie preferred politics to scholarship. Baillie feared that Gillespie would exploit his new office ruthlessly to 'be a stirrer up of ... (the English) to persecute us all'.(78) Certainly he lost no time in consolidating his bridgehead, securing the appointment of John Spreule - 'his confident on the English interest' - as college factor immediately after he was installed. Baillie claims they now 'gripped our purse, that no man

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(74) V. Infra, p.151.

(75) Baillie, III, 209.

(76) Baillie, III, 208.

(77) A.P.S., VI, ii, 323; 509.

(78) Baillie, III, 211.

should get any stipend but as (Gillespie) thought expedient'.(79) Thus control of local patronage was secured, but at a price - Gillespie's courting of the English and his acceptance of erastian interference in Kirk affairs was noxious to the extreme wing of his own party, as well as to Resolutioners.

It was of course instinctive for the early English administration to favour the Protesters, despite their bitter opposition to the Tender of Union, for the Malignants were gathering in the Highlands, and the Protester record of opposition to Malignancy was consistent. Nevertheless the English over-reacted in dispersing the General Assembly of July 1653 by force. The 'glory and strength' of Baillie's Kirk was not to reconvene until 1690. A fundamental of government and discipline had been removed, causing great offence to the Resolutioners, which only Broghill's diplomacy managed to allay in succeeding years. Of course the Resolutioners blamed the Protesters,(80) but Row records that the Protesters themselves complained formally about the treatment of the Assembly.(81) More basic was a nervousness in the English camp as Glencairn's Rising gathered momentum, resulting in suppression of Scottish institutions, even when, as in the case of Kirk and Burghs, little support was given towards the Rising.

The Kirk's only offence was to continue to pray publicly for the King - in July 1654 Baillie mourned that:

(79) *Ibid.*, 213; 241.

(80) *Baillie*, III, 244.

(81) Robert Blair and William Row, *Life of Mr Robert Blair*, ed. T. M'Crie, (Wodrow Soc.; Edinburgh, 1848), p.308.

'We have been very careful to give the English no offence at all; for in all this Northland ryseing, to my best knowledge there is no minister in Scotland who has the leist hand or any meddling. However, for this our great treason of naming the King in our publict prayers (as we conceive our duety, Covenant, and Directorie for worship do require) we are likely to suffer heavie things'.(82)

By December 1655 he had concluded that

'The riseing of the Highlands has proven, as most of the wise men ever expected, hurtfull to us. The countrey was much oppressed by it; the King's partie much weakened; the English embittered the more against us; and their inward divisions and factions holden in so long as that partie stood considerable'.(83)

The Rising brought the solid Monck back to control the military government, in place of Colonel Lilburne, who had been conscientious but unable to command full support from London.

The burghs were constrained during the Emergency by a stop on their elections in 1653 and 1654 - this had the bizarre effect of making sure that Glasgow's magistrates remained in office to secure the realm, while the Government were simultaneously supporting the Protesters (whose lay supporters formed the alternative to the standing Council) in Kirk affairs. Not surprisingly no protests against the stop on elections are recorded in the Council minutes. The death of Provost Wallace in January 1654 was no handicap to the James Bell-Colin Campbell clique, who used him as a figurehead.(84) In any case Wallace had

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(82) Baillie, III, 252.

(83) Ibid., 287.

(84) Anderson, Provosts, p.22. Wallace was an exception to the association made by Wariston (Diary, II, 170) between malignancy and the 'substantious men' of Glasgow.

spent several months in London attending Union negotiations between September 1652 and March 1653, and business was controlled by James Bell and James Pollok in his absence. Colin Campbell, elder, was so closely identified with the Council that they bothered to grant him a licence on 6 August 1653 'to build some little fixit work befoir his dowcat doir an the Greine, for withholding of boyes thairfrae wha troubles his dowes be chapping at all tymes on the said doire':(85) no doubt 'planning permission' was required to build on the Green, but affairs had become less vivid since the fall of the Kirk Party.

Monck's success in crushing the malignants in the Highlands made it possible for the English authorities to relax their rule in Scotland during 1655. At the end of March a Council of State was appointed to complement the military government. It began work in September, with Broghill as President. Baillie enthuses that 'The very great wisdom, equitie, and moderation of that excellent man, my Lord Broghill'(86) achieved rapid reforms, and the restoration of burgh liberties was followed by a review of the rival pretensions of the Protesters and Resolutioners in the Kirk.

In one respect the political rehabilitation of Scotland began with Lambert's Instrument of Government of December 1653, in which the nation was allocated thirty places in

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He died in poverty, and the Council voted £500 for his son's education. Glasgow Records, II, 293.

(85) Glasgow Records, II, 272.

(86) Baillie, III, 325.

the Westminster Parliament.(87) An ordinance of March 1654 distributed twenty seats to the shires and ten to the burghs. This reduced Glasgow's influence, since the burgh now had to share a commissioner with seven neighbours - only Edinburgh had its own member under the new settlement. Traditionally the Provost represented Glasgow in the Estates, but this was not politic in the three Protectorate Parliaments where local rivals such as Dumbarton had to be considered. In the First Protectorate Parliament (3 September 1654-22 January 1655) Glasgow was fortunate in having Mr John Wilkie of Broomhouse to represent the Clyde group(88) - he had already worked effectively for the burgh in London in the Fire Relief Campaign of 1652. The Clyde group's representation in the Second Protectorate Parliament is slightly ambiguous - the Old Parliamentary History lists Colonel George Talbot of the Foot(89) - presumably an English officer. Similarly the Acts of Parliament of Scotland lists George Talbot, esq.(90) However the Clarke MSS refer to 'Commissary Lockhart'(91) - possibly confusing

- (87) A.P.S., VI, ii, 891-2. In the preceding Barebones' Assembly of 4 July-12 December 1653, Scotland had but five nominees - Colonel William Lockhart, Sir James Hope, and (suitably) the future quakers, Swinton and Alexander Jaffray: Alexander Brodie refused to attend. A.P.S., VI, ii, 778.
- (88) A.P.S., VI, ii, 781.
- (89) The Parliamentary ... history of England to the Restoration of Charles II, (London, 1761-2), xx, 20. (The 'Old Parliamentary History')
- (90) A.P.S., VI, ii, 782.
- (91) Clarke MSS quoted Scotland and the Protectorate, op.cit., p.332. P.J. Pinckney in his article on this Parliament regards George Lockhart as the Clyde member but gives no source. See P.J. Pinckney, 'Scottish representation in the Cromwellian Parliament of 1656', S.H.R., xlvi, 1967, 110.

George Lockhart of Lanarkshire Commissary Court with the Parliamentary Commissioner.

If George Talbot was the member, he does not seem to have been very active. By contrast the three Lockhart brothers were very prominent in local and national affairs.(92) William Lockhart was a Barebone's nominee, and the member for Lanarkshire in the first two Protectorate Parliaments. In May 1652 he had been appointed one of the Commissioners for Justice in Scotland. George Lockhart, his younger brother, was appointed Commissary of Glasgow in 1646,(92A) and Commissary for Lanark in 1656. He may also have been an elder in the Glasgow Presbytery on occasion.(92B) He was Rector of Glasgow University from 1651 to 1654, when he was succeeded by his friend Sir George Maxwell of Pollok. George Lockhart was with Maxwell and the Western Protesters in their efforts to 'purge and plant' in Lanark during 1654.(93) Maxwell had attempted to secure the return for Renfrewshire in this Parliament but was foiled by the Resolutioner Sir William Cochrane of Dundonald.(94) In Richard Cromwell's

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(92) The compliance of the Lockharts with the Interregnum governments is the more remarkable as their father, Sir James Lockhart of Lee, had been an Engager. They adjusted as easily to the Restoration, and continued to thrive, in company with many able and shrewd careerists associated with the Protectorate in its swing to the Right.

(92A) V. Supra, p.44.

(92B) See Appendix III, May-June 1650.

(93) Baillie, III, 246.

(94) Ibid., 322.

Parliament (27 January-22 April 1659) the youngest  
Lockhart, Captain John, represented the Clyde burghs  
whilst George took over from William in Lanarkshire.(95)

The unstable nature of the Protectorate  
Parliaments gave the Scottish members little oppor-  
tunity to settle to constructive work - although  
recent studies have rejected the old charge that the  
members were all placemen in the English interest.(96)  
The situation was at

*[Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page]*

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(95) A.P.S., VI, ii, 784.  
(96) See J.A. Casada, 'The Scottish representatives in  
Richard Cromwell's Parliament', S.H.R., li, 1972,  
124-147; P.J. Pinckney, op.cit., 95-114.

its worst in Richard Cromwell's Parliament where the very presence of Scottish members was used as a point of gerrymandering debate by Haselrig's republicans. But there was no lack of Scottish pressure groups in London during the Commonwealth and Protectorate - as early as 1652 the Burghs appointed William Thomson, Town Clerk of Edinburgh, to attend their interests.(97) Glasgow had its man, John Wilkie. The Kirk factions were soon to send their deputations, and Gillespie's lobbying stirred up the West, which 'without him would have been pretty quiet'.(98)

The restoration of elections in Glasgow in October 1655 did little to alter the political balance - the conservative party were well entrenched. Sir George Maxwell of Pollok attempted to carry out the Lennox nominations, but his 'commissoune subscrivit be some of the said Duike of Lenox's friends ... was cleir contrare and disconforme'(99) to procedure, as laid down in 1642: he was ignored. John Anderson came in as Provost, with John Walkinshaw, John Anderson, elder Dowhill, and William Neilson as Bailies. John Bell was Dean of Guild. Three Porterfield associates came back - Thomas Scott,(100) craftsman; Thomas Allane, merchant, and above all John Grahame. But only thirteen places changed hands on

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(97) Convention Records, III, 364.

(98) Baillie, III, 364.

(99) Glasgow Records, II, 319.

(100) Scott, a baker, caused offence by rash speeches against Baillie Walkinshaw in Council. Threatened with warding he soon 'confessit reallie his great fault and raschnes' and was allowed back into the meeting. He was however not returned in the election of October 1656. See Glasgow Records, II, 339.

the Council, not many after a three year break in which Daniel Wallace for one had died. Fourteen merchants were returned - one extra - but strangely enough the crafts did not protest: they were to be less placid in succeeding years.

It may be that the rigid apartheid of 1652 was being relaxed as the conservatives grew more confident. Certainly they made use of Grahame and Spreule to negotiate teinds in November 1655(101). Spreule, with his habitual resilience, had countered his deposition from the town clerkship by getting a job in the High Court in Edinburgh. He then presented the magistrates with a decree of the High Court of Justice ordering them to respect his gift of office in Glasgow. A deal was done, whereby William Yair continued to officiate, theoretically as depute to Spreule, and the two shared the fees of office.(102)

However the magistrates continued their efforts to restore the traditional fabric of Glasgow society, with an edict of February 1655 tightening the entry rules for the premier rank of merchants - the guild brethren. They were concerned about

'the great hurt, damage and prejudice,  
susteanit be the hail merchand rank ...  
throw admitting these to be gild  
brether quha abtenis thair burgeschip  
be right of thair prenteischip at so  
easie ane rate as hes bein observit  
heirtofoire, quhairas all these being  
in ane maner straingers aucht naewayes  
to be respectit or come in competition  
with burgessis bairneis borne and broght  
vpe within the towne'.

To remedy this,

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(101) Glasgow Records, II, 322.

(102) Ibid., 295-296.

'and for the better stirring upe and moveing all suche of that qualitie to marie gild brethers dochters, quhilk will be to these parents ane great comfort and ease, as is expressit in the lettre of gildrie ..., nae maner of persoune, either merchand or craftisman quha shall obtain his burgesschipe be right of his prenteisschipe in tyme comeing, shall ... be admitted gild brether ... unless he serve his master or other frieman four full yeirs efter he is past burges ... and that without any gaine or proffeit be maid to himselfe bot to his master allanerie, unles he pay to the hospital of his calling the sowme of ane hundrethe merkes Scottis'.(103)

These regulations were in no way to apply to the 'bairneis' of burgesses and guild brethren, nor to those who married burgesses and guild brethren - thus they cannot be seen as an attack on outsiders like Porterfield and Graham who had married into Glasgow merchant circles. The rules reflect a desire to tighten the close circle of burgh trading networks - typically, at a time when the tide was soon to run against the privileges of the old royal burghs.(104) John Spreule must have sorely tried patrician tempers by his use of the clerkship to exert great influence - although he was not alone in this; William Thomson of Edinburgh reached even higher levels in his career.

By late 1655 the Protesters in Glasgow had recovered some ground since their nemesis of March 1652. The Gillespian alliance with the English had secured control

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(103) Ibid., 304.

(104) For a discussion of Restoration removal of restrictions on the trade of Burghs of Barony, and the counter-attack of the Royal Burghs, see G. Donaldson, Scotland: James V to James VII, (Edinburgh, 1965) pp.392-3.

of the College and Presbytery. Yet the Council was as far from their grasp as ever. The next three years were to see an intense effort by Gillespie to achieve absolute local power, but whether this was for radicalism or personal ambition remains to be seen.

Nov - April 1850

They say that never sleep in Scotland. I had a  
rough night - *Ballie*, III, 384

**"The Politics and Society of Glasgow: 1648-1674"**

**Part two: Glasgow under the Cromwellian Union, 1652-60**

**Chapter IV The Gillespie campaigns to control  
Glasgow for the Western Protesters,  
1654 - April 1658**

**'They say that never Bishop in Scotland lived at  
so high a rate'- Baillie, III, 364**

Between 1654 and 1658 the Western Protesters undertook a big offensive to secure control of society and government in their locality, and eventually in the nation. This was to upset the security of those conservative interests who had controlled Glasgow politics since March 1652, but it was some time after the Protesters' breakthrough in Kirk and College before they had any chance of ousting the established interests in burgh government - who were sympathetic towards the Resolutioners. Thus the discussion of Protester progress is inevitably centred on Kirk and College affairs, until burgh politics come back into the melting pot in mid-1657.

The Protesters' opening move was made in February 1654. Colonel Lilburne warned Cromwell that they were preparing to 'make application to your Highnesse very shortly, and intend Mr Patr. Galeaspe as their Commissioner'. (1) Gillespie, John Livingstone and John Menzies went to London in March 1654 and remained for several months, virtually unopposed, since Guthrie of the Protesters, and Douglas and Blair for Resolutioners and moderates respectively, refused similar invitations in May. (2) Gillespie's gains were potentially dynamic. They are summed up in an Ordinance of 8 August 1654 'For the better support of the Universities in Scotland and the encouragement of Public Preachers there'. (3) 'Mr Gillespie's Charter' offered advantages for his College,

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(1) Scotland and the Protectorate, op.cit., p.41.

(2) Baillie, III, 253.

(3) A.P.S., VI, ii, 831-832; Nicoll, Diary, pp.164-167.

Kirk party and even specifically for the isolated Porterfieldians of Glasgow. The College was to receive all the lands and revenues of the former Bishopric of Galloway, and an annual fund of 200 merks stg 'for the education of pious and hopeful young men and students of theology and philosophy', to be paid from the burgh excise. Aberdeen University also received grants (by coincidence these were the establishments to which Gillespie had previously been Visitor).

More critically, Commissioners were to be appointed for visiting the colleges and schools, and to

'take especiall care that none but godly and able men be authorized by them to enjoy the livings appointed for the Ministry in Scotland; and to that end, that respect be had to the choice of the more sober and godly part of the people, although the same should not prove to be the greater part'.(4)

Among the Guardians of the elect listed for the Province of Glasgow and Ayr - in addition to Gillespie's solid phalanx of Protester ministers - were John Spreule, George Porterfield and John Grahame, with Sir George Maxwell of Pollok, (5) who was also Rector of the College between 1654 and 1659. As a genuine religious enthusiast he seems to have kept on fair terms with Baillie despite points of principle.(6) The former bulwark of the Army of the Western Association, Gilbert Ker, was among the commissioners for Lothian, Merse and Teviotdale, (7) but he was a member of the Guthrie-Wariston group of 'Eastern'

(4) A.P.S., VI, ii, 832.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok, ed. William Fraser, (Edinburgh, 1863), I, 66.

(7) A.P.S., VI, ii, 832.

Protesters rather than an adherent of Gillespie's.

However all this was in vain for by the time the 'Charter' was actually published in October 1655, its terms were widely opposed in Scotland - by Guthrie's faction as fiercely as the Resolutioners. In the Declaration of the Council for Scotland which accompanied publication, the Government admitted that the Ordinance 'by reason of the not acting of most of those persons mentioned therein hath not been put into effectual execution'. (8) Guthrie and Wariston's group, which included Sir John Cheisly, another stalwart of the old Western Association, opposed both the English connection and the erastian nature of the proposed settlement. Although the Glasgow Protesters supported Gillespie - John Spreule was his 'confident in the English interest' (9) - the great Charter could not be implemented against general resistance elsewhere in Scotland.

In December 1654 Guthrie took up a crusade to reunite the Kirk to his modelling on the basis of a 'Personal Covenant', but in turn Gillespie opposed it - partly because of its anti-English bias, and possibly because they had rejected his 'Charter'. The Personal Covenant was 'crushit' (10) at the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr in October 1655. Baillie gleefully reports the growing

(8) Ibid., 831.

(9) V. Supra, p. 128. (Gillespie seems to have converted Spreule, and John Grahame, from their resistance to English domination so ably expressed in their rejection of the Tender of Union. Gillespie in effect took over the leadership of the radicals in Glasgow through his ability to negotiate with the new regime, and his enormous self confidence).

(10) Baillie, III, 276.

differences amongst the Protesters, and sharply underlines the dilemma of the exclusivists:

'my Lord Warristone, Mr James Guthrie and others still profess their great aversion to the English way: however their great aversation of the King and of the late Assemblies, and their zeal to make up the Kirk and armie, and places of trust, only of the godly party, (that is their own confidents) make them dear and precious men to the English, doe or say what they will, and their opposites but raskallie malignants'. (11)

The Resolutioners had become dangerously isolated by mid 1655, although holding some two-thirds of the ministries in Scotland, for they were being out-manoevred by Gillespie's diplomacy in London and Dalkeith. However they found new support when Broghill became President of the Scottish Council and studied their case. Initially he too had been hostile, favouring the Protesters, for Monck told him that only Wariston's group prevented them from 'a closure' (12) with the Government. The Resolutioners were facing a crisis - their continued prayers for their exiled King led the authorities to threaten them with loss of stipend. The London Government stressed that the penalties be seriously enforced, but Broghill persuaded the leading Resolutioners, Wood and Douglas, to agree to a

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(11) *Ibid.*, 245.

(12) *J. Thurloe, State Papers*, ed. Thomas Birch, (London, 1742), IV, 49 (henceforth *Thurloe, State Papers*) Broghill was Roger Boyle, 1621-1679, third son of the Earl of Cork: created Baron Broghill 1627. A royalist during the Civil Wars, he worked closely with Cromwell in his subjugation of Ireland, and became a member of the inner clique of Cromwell's 'Court Party'. Acceptable to most moderate and conservative interests, he was created Earl of Orrery on 5 September 1660. See *D.N.B.*, VI, 123-126.

compromise whereby the sanctions were to be dropped previous to a voluntary abandonment of the prayers.(13) Baillie was annoyed and continued his prayers cautiously.(14) He claims that Monck also took offence, because the Resolutioners had conceded to Broghill after refusing his appeals, and 'from that day, in all occasions befriended openlie the Remonstrants to our prejudice'.(15) This is not quite fair - Monck was to defend the liberties of Glasgow and the burghs against Gillespie's encroachments in 1657. Broghill's success was due to his tact, and a growing realisation amongst the Resolutioners that Gillespie's influence at Dalkeith and London had to be countered - as he told Thurloe 'we have indeed rendered one party soe jellous of the other, that we now seeme to be the courted'.(16) Not to be outdone, Gillespie - encouraged by Livingstone - became the first Scots minister to pray publicly for Oliver in the East Kirk of Edinburgh on 14 October 1655.(17)

Broghill studied the rival factions astutely. His conclusions are relevant to the fascinating issue of radicalism among the extreme Covenanters. He felt that Wariston and Guthrie were

'bitterly averse to your highnes authority, if not to any ... And indeed ... I may call them Fifth - Monarchy - presbiterians, and accordinge to their principles (settinge aside some little show of presbiterian disciplyne which yet they allow none to practise over them, but would practise it over all others) they are neerer to a

(13) A.P.S., VI, ii, 892.

(14) Baillie, III, 321.

(15) Baillie, III, 321.

(16) 'Broghill to Thurloe, 27 Jan. 1655', Thurloe State Papers, IV, 279.

(17) Nicoll, Diary, p.162: Baillie, III, 321-322.

closure with the late All-hallowse men  
than any others'. (18)

Broghill's view is understandable - a 'sensible' man, he represents the conservative face of the Protectorate as it retreated from affinity with sectarianism and radicalism, but he underestimates that 'little show of presbiterian disciplyne'. For this was the precise issue which kept the extreme Covenanters from leaning towards the 'sectarians', including the establishment Independents who practised toleration and made Erastian settlements over the true Kirk. Although a few individual Protester leaders, and groups of Western peasants, went over to sectarianism, and others like Spreule felt drawn towards 'the English' on occasion, (19) essentially the extreme Covenanters' radicalism was clerical: they had no bold constitutional solution. Broghill was upset by 'Mr Guttery (sic) and thos fierce men' (20) because they were so unbending in their opposition to the interference of the Protectorate, but he surely exaggerates in comparing the Guthrites to Fifth Monarchists - Guthrie certainly believed in the independence of the Kirk from the State but he never sought to dispense with the State and establish the terrestrial rule of Christ. On the contrary, he defended the King's privilege against Cromwell

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(18) 'Broghill to Cromwell, 26 Feb. 1655', A.P.S., VI, ii, 899. The 'All-hallowse men' were the Fifth Monarchists, whose first meeting in December 1651 took place at All Hallows the Great, Upper Thames Street, London. See P.G. Rogers, The Fifth Monarchy Men, (London, 1968), p.40.

(19) V.Supra, p.65.

(20) 'Broghill to Thurloe, 27 August 1656', Thurloe State Papers, V, 336.

in London during 1657. However Guthrie was the most consistently exclusive of the Protesters, unlike the ambitious careerist faction of Gillespie and Livingstone: Cromwell called him 'a short man that would not bow'.(21) It earned him a martyrdom when Middleton, whom he had excommunicated in 1651, returned to power in 1660.

The Resolutioners were at one with the Protesters in defending 'Ecclesiastick liberties' but differed with them over the definition and scope of such liberties, and over attitudes towards Charles Stewart. Where the parties took issue in the first instance was over the malignant threat. It was the Protesters' rejection of the King's government in its form of 1650-1651 which caused the Resolutioners to brand them as 'Fifth-monarchy-presbiterians' or republicans.(22) The constitutional debate, such as it was, centred on the interpretation of the third article of the Solemn League and Covenant, relating to the royal prerogative and the powers of Parliament - but there is no evidence to suggest that the Protesters progressed to abandon earthly Kings or profess republicanism, although obviously the King should be advised by the true Kirk Party rather than by traditional vested interests and malignants. In the second instance, the Kirk parties quarrelled over Kirk discipline, but the Protesters claimed to dispute only the legality of particular Assemblies - those 'packed'

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(21) Quoted in J. Kilpatrick, 'James Guthrie, minister at Stirling, 1649-1661', Records of the Scottish Church History Society, XI, (1951-1953), 183.

(22) Baillie, III, 175-6; V.Supra, pp. 64-5. The charge was also broadcast by George Hutcheson, the Edinburgh Resolutioner - see Wariston, Diary, III, ed. J.D. Ogilvie, (S.H.S., Edinburgh, 1940), 5.

courts of 1651-53 - not of Assemblies as such. Baillie refused to see this subtle and convenient distinction.

In practice the pure theories of all Kirk factions were compromised by life under the English power. Initially they had to apply to the Government for licence to resurrect their 'Ecclesiastick liberties': this was the Gordian knot. Baillie was appalled at the Protesters' schemes -

'If God be not mercifull, I think these mens' malapart novations, and seeking shelter to their proud tyrannie from the sword that lyes on our necks will end in an Erastian slaverie, pulled on us by those that were wont to be most zealous for our discipline'.(23)

He regarded the pretensions of the Protesters as more dangerous than the regiment of the Independents in England, but he was well aware that his own party had made advances to the Government - and indeed was depressed by these.(24) In fact both Kirk parties had Erastian and anti-Erastian wings, although the 'necessity' of the will to power forced compromise on everyone at times. The dilemma of the most austere Protesters is revealed by Strachan's old associate, Gilbert Ker, who refused to act as a J.P. for Roxburghshire advising the Sheriff

'I am convinced in my conscience that imployment is sinfull and unlawfull ... contrary to our Solemne League and Covenant, as also a manifest incroachment uppon the liberties of the Kirke of Christ in this land'.(25)

Yet Ker was a signatory to a petition from the Protesters to the Scottish Council in November 1655, seeking the return

(23) Baillie, III, 327; 331.

(24) Ibid., 332; 324.

(25) Thurloe, State Papers, IV, 480.

of the Kirk's powers to purge and plant for the Lord's comfort. (26) After all he had attempted to do as much for the 'holy Army' of 1650-1651.

Gillespie seemed immune to such agonies of conscience. A dynamic, forceful man, he worked through the Protectorate government because he would seek his ends by most means, and - to be fair - because he respected Cromwell. His three-point plan to re-create a radical stronghold in the West, by controlling Kirk, Burgh, and College in Glasgow had advanced considerably since 1652, when the Protesters seemed isolated. The College was his, apart from the rearguard resistance of Baillie. He was not greatly involved in its teaching, but already in 1654 he had secured new revenues in the Galloway teinds. During 1656 he pressed for the rents, writing frequently to the Earl of Galloway, while his eager factor jailed lesser folk for non-payment. (27) He was to achieve splendid improvements with his building programme. In the Kirk, his faction had captured Synod and Presbytery by 1655, and 'purged and planted' joyfully. However a kernel of resistance remained in the burgh council which was still dominated by conservative interests - the return of three Porterfieldians in October 1655 was scarcely a landslide. Moreover the split with Guthrie's wing, and Broghill's consideration of the Resolutioners' case had to be weighed in the balance of his success.

The struggles in the Kirk were to have critical

(26) *Ibid.*, 255.

(27) See the 'Gillespie Letters', Glasgow University Archives, 27816; 27835; 27836; 27842.

repercussions in Glasgow politics and burgh government during 1657-58, but for the main local government ran smoothly in 1655-56. The main feature of interest is the renewed activity of John Grahame on the Council, after his return in the election of October 1655. Between January and August of 1656 he appears regularly in connection with the College and its library, Hutcheson's Hospital and the work of the Barony Parish.(28) The death of James Bell (Colin Campbell's ally in the resistance to the Porterfieldians between 1645 and 1648) in 1655(29) may have assisted concord. Domestic developments included an offer by Colin Campbell to sell his lands of Woodside to the town in June 1655 - a committee of officials was appointed to view the lands.(30) Coal mining in Gorbals was being developed by Patrick Bryce, weaver, a former Proterfield councillor.(31)

The costs of the Army of occupation - detachments of which were stationed in Glasgow(32) - still bore heavily, but even in this there was an opportunity for Porterfield men to have office of sorts. In the list of Glasgow's Commissioners for the Assessment on 21 December 1655, appear five former radical councillors - Grahame, Spreule, Porterfield, Thomas Campbell and Patrick Bryce, maltman.(33)

(28) Glasgow Records, II, 324; 325; 327; 330; 345.

(29) Anderson, Provosts, p.15.

(30) Glasgow Records, II, 316.

(31) Ibid., 311; 317.

(32) In February 1656 there was a successful petition to Monck regarding the burgh's right to organise quartering. The troops were also asked to grind their malt at the town's mills. (Glasgow Records, II, 328)  
See also Baillie, III, 288.

(33) In this assessment a sum of £10,000 stg. was laid for upkeep of the forces. Glasgow's share was £97 10/-, slightly less than that of Aberdeen and Dundee, burghs comparable in size and wealth. See A.P.S., VI,ii, 837; 840.

They were of course accompanied by the Provost, Bailies and three English officers, but the central trio were still on the lists in September 1656(34) and January 1659.(35) The office was scarcely popular but it was something, and assisted the Protesters in their English connection. However to exert the influence they desired, the radicals had to break the hold of the established clique. This was difficult given the electoral system.

In the election of October 1656 only nine places changed hands, with John Anderson remaining as Provost. Once again only three men associated with Porterfield's rule were returned - John Grahame, Thomas Allane, and Patrick Bryce, maltman. Allane was elected Bailie, and Bryce Visitor to his craft,(36) but this was not enough. Grahame's resentment may be evident in his deposition from the Council in October 1656 for failure to attend meetings(37) - either he had tired of his limited role, or the rule-book was being used against him. The former is probably, as he was asked to go to Edinburgh on burgh business on 11 April 1657, and contingencies were made for his refusal.(38) In the event he did go east, with John Walkinshaw on 23 May 1657, to plead for remission of the cess on Gorbals and Craigs lands, and an abatement of

- (34) In this assessment £15,000 stg. was to be raised for the Spanish War, with Glasgow's share at £54 2/4d. (A.P.S., VI, ii, 849-853)
- (35) In this assessment £12,000 was to be raised for the forces, of which Glasgow's share was £129 17/6d (A.P.S., VI, ii, 880-883)
- (36) Glasgow Records, II, 347. (Sir George Maxwell's commission, this time from the 'Dutchess of Lenox, quha is tutrix to the young duik, hir sone' was accepted and he carried out the nominations. Ibid., 347)
- (37) Ibid., 348.
- (38) Ibid., 362.

Glasgow's cess. They were successful, and received a sympathetic letter from 'Commissar Lockhart'.(39)

The scope of dissidents on the Council was severely limited by a subsequent Act of 1 August 1657 whereby anyone who protested against

'any mater quhatsuever voycit in counsall and concluded be pluralitie of voitis tharrin of yit wilfullie desertis the counsall, sall be fund wncapable to beir any charge other as magistrate or counsallour, thair in all tyme thairefter'.(40)

This may have been prompted by Grahame's activities, or a quarrel which broke out between crafts and magistrates in January 1657, in which John Bell and Walter Neilson found themselves on opposite sides. John Johnstone, wright, had appealed to the Council on the grounds that he was being refused admission to his trade, although qualified in all respects.(41) The magistrates ruled against such discrimination, but after protests, the craft pressure-group won their case on 14 February.(42) Bell and Neilson may have become alienated over this issue, for in the coming struggle between Gillespie and the Council, Walter Neilson was to support the Protesters in a rather unholy alliance.(43)

Contention continued over the burgh charities. On 8 November 1656 the Poor Roll was again revised due to a public outcry against inequality in the rate.(44) The Council and Presbytery were again bickering over

- (39) Ibid., 366; 371.  
 (40) Ibid., 373.  
 (41) Ibid., 353-354.  
 (42) Ibid., 356-357.  
 (43) V. Infra, pp.162-5.  
 (44) Glasgow Records, II, 350.

contributions, to the point of legal proceedings of 'horning' against each other, but diplomacy by a deputation of councillors under John Walkinshaw secured a compromise whereby actions were dropped, and the magistrates agreed to do their utmost to collect the Poor rate.(45) The merchant and craft hospitals had already set a good example, in resolving to maintain their own poor without subsidy.(46) The Protesters' obstinacy in regard to Poor relief(47) was almost certainly adopted to pressurise the 'economy cuts' lobby in the Council. After all their own record of poor relief in office was distinguished by consideration and innovation.(48)

There were other ways in which the Protesters could badger the Council, despite their inability to pack it with their own friends. They ruthlessly exploited their control of Kirk and College, ignoring the Council's privilege of vetting appointments. Even minor jobs in the College were contested - Baillie attempted to place his son, Robert, as Librarian early in 1655, but found Gillespie uncooperative, and

'my good friends, John Graham and especiallie Mr John Spreule, ... stirred up Mr Hodges to seek that presentation when he did not mind of it, having ane other place of the Colledge that might serve him'.(49)

Baillie appealed to the Council, who accepted his son,(50) but Gillespie delayed the contract. After all this, poor

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(45) Glasgow Records, II, 369.

(46) Ibid., 367.

(47) V.Supra, p.120.

(48) V.Supra, pp. 89-92.

(49) Baillie, III, 287.

(50) Glasgow Records, II, 334.

young Baillie died tragically within a few years.(51)

In Kirk supply, the magistrates knew 'their inability to carry any call contrarie to (the Protesters') mind'(52) in 1656. The Protesters' zeal to purge and plant was great. Naturally Baillie had a low opinion of their 'plants' in the Barony. At Lenzie, the 'English sectarie' had been replaced after two years by 'Mr Harie Forsyth, lately a baxter boy, laureat within these two years, a little, very feckless-lyke thing in his person, and mean in his gifts, but the son of a Gillespie'.(53) He was equally caustic about the appointment of John Dickson at Rutherglen: 'against the peoples' heart, they have planted a little manniken of small parts, whom I never saw; and forced old Mr Robert Young, albeit as able as ever, to give over his ministrie'.(54)

However the Eastern Resolutioners negotiated a potential escape from this impasse via Broghill. In August 1656 they formulated a scheme whereby the Presbyteries would issue certificates to the Council of State, testifying their acceptance of ministers. Refusal of a certificate would curb the Protesters where they had 'planted' without local consent. In return for this concession towards Kirk discipline the Resolutioners were to live peacably under the Government. Although this system would not be disastrous for the Glasgow Protesters, who had majority control of their Presbytery and Synod, it would upset Protester pretensions where they were indeed in

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(51) Baillie, III, 374.

(52) Ibid.

(53) Ibid., 313.

(54) Ibid., 314.

a minority - which was usual. The Protesters prepared to counter-attack - as Broghill wrote to Thurloe on 19 August 1656:

'the remonstrators havinge got notice of what the rest of the ministry have lately agreed with me ... they have called a meetinge and, as My Lord Warristone is come to inform me, are resolved to employ some commissioners to his highness, and to goe a length which never yet they went, nor, as som thought, never would doe'.(55)

This 'length' may refer to Guthrie's decision to go south, since he had till now rejected the English connection favoured by Gillespie, or perhaps even to the policy taken up in London by the Protesters, of attempting to secure the burgh magistracies for their friends, which was to jolt Glasgow politics out of 'normalcy' back into the cauldron of national politics in 1657-58.

The Resolutioners appointed James Sharp, the minister of Crail, to go south to counter the coming storm. As suggested above, these initiatives were organised by the Eastern group of Resolutioners (in contrast, the Eastern Protesters were against English collaboration as a rule). Baillie thought the strife before the English 'shamefull and dangerous; I love it not: my advyce was never sought to it, but on our part it seems necessar'.(56) He was to be glad of 'The great instrument of God ... that very worthie, pious, wise, and diligent young man, Mr James Sharp'(57) to 'cross the evill designes' of the Protesters when they attacked his Kirk and Glasgow's liberties.

(55) A.P.S., VI, ii, 903; see also Thurloe, State Papers, IV, 301.

(56) Baillie, III, 324.

(57) Ibid., 352.

Sharp travelled south with Broghill, whose term of duty had ended in August 1656. Broghill recommended him to the Protector via Thurloe on 26 November 1656, as 'a sober good man and a friend and servant to his highnes'.(58) The Protesters sent James Simpson, minister of Airth, (59) south in advance of the main party in October, but Broghill defended the Resolutioners against his aspersions, concluding: 'Really I thinke the publick resolution-men will prove the honnester of the two (factions); and if we can gain som of the sober remonstrators, the Kirke may be tyed in ... to the present authority'.(60) In effect Broghill's solution to the troubles in the Kirk and nation was to create a third party from out of the cooperative Resolutioners, led by Wood and Douglas, and 'Mr Gillespy and the sober sort of remonstrators', (61) whereby the Kirk united would close ranks against Guthrie's fierce men, and Charles Stewart, giving solidarity to the Protectorate in Scotland. It was a good plan, but it received a set-back when both wings of the Protesters went south to lobby the Protector in January 1657 - Guthrie, Wariston and Ker of Greenhead accompanying Gillespie. (62) In the event Guthrie asked for little, true to form, and left early: (63) it was Gillespie's intrigues that destroyed any chance of detente with the Resolutioners.

The Protesters travelled with a letter of recommendation

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(58) Thurloe, State Papers, V, 655-656.

(59) Baillie gleefully refers to Simpson's involvement in a paternity case at this time, in an attempt to discredit the Stirling Presbytery. (Baillie, III, 353).

(60) A.P.S., VI, ii, 903.

(61) Thurloe, State Papers, V, 336.

(62) Baillie, III, 327.

(63) Ibid., 355; 356; V.Supra, pp.143-4.

from Monck(64) but the General's support was not going to last, for Gillespie made great demands, including the establishment of a committee, composed equally of Protesters and Resolutioners, to purge and plant, and the renewal of the Act of Classes against malignants.(65)

The classic encounters, before Cromwell and a panel of English divines, between Sharp, alone, and the Protesters, eventually resulted in Sharp's parrying of Gillespie's efforts to control Kirk appointments, although Gillespie explained that his party were 'the plurality by farr' in the Synod of Glasgow, whilst the Resolutioners were but a minor party who withdrew and acted separately from them.(65A)

However on the political wing Gillespie achieved a potentially major victory in Parliament on 26 June 1657, when he was supported by Lambert and the Major-Generals whilst Sharp's 'friends' were out of the House. An 'Additional Petition and Advice' was added to the 'Humble Petition and Advice' of 25 May which had reorganised Cromwell's government.(66) This clause, pressed home by the Protesters, barred all those who had fought for, or assisted, the Engagement of 1648 from public office - unless they had subsequently defended the Commonwealth or Protectorate. It was basically an attempt to widen the Protester power base by regaining control of the burgh councils: Glasgow was to be a test case. That the Protesters had gone south with this in mind is suggested by a statement of Wariston's, of 18 February 1657, that

' Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead told me of my Lord Protector saying to Major Strainge that he knew wheir the interest of godlynesse and godly men laye on our side, and that he would cleave unto us and settle first the

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(64) Scotland and the Protectorate, op.cit., p.345.

(65) Baillie, III, 353-54.

(65A) Register of the Consultations of Ministers of Edinburgh, op.cit., II, 14.

(66) See F.N. McCoy, op.cit., pp.191-2 for a full discussion of this issue.

magistracye to our contentment, and speak with Mr Gillespie ...'(67)

Baillie had warned James Wood in December 1656:

'I doubt nothing but one of their chief business will be to get, what Mr Gillespie had obtained, (68) the whole Magistracies in the land put in their partie's hand. If they had this, Glasgow alone, besyde other services, could give them sundry thousand pounds a year, as they wont to doe, to be disposed on without all count, as they thought fittest. If the burroughes and shyres see not to it, they will quicklie be their hard taskmasters. This equal committee, to purge and plant without any account, is the totall destruction of our (Kirk) government'. (69)

James Simpson may well have been preparing the grounds for these manoeuvres when he arrived in London in advance of the main Protester deputation.

The Glasgow magistrates responded quickly to Gillespie's challenge, sending Bailie James Pollok south to lobby for them on 4 July 1657. (70) Pollok's first concern was to work through Sharp, but he seems to have offended the honest minister by attempting clumsily to bribe him. Sharp told Baillie on 28 July

'I was so pressed by your Bailie heir, that he would thrust into my pockett five peeces,

(67) Wariston, Diary, III, 63.

(68) This refers to an attempt by Gillespie to implement a remit received from central government to purge the Glasgow magistracy in 1656, which was abandoned after fierce resistance - See Baillie, III, 331 - There is however no mention of this earlier attack on burgh liberties in the Council minutes.

(69) Baillie, III, 327. These funds could of course be used for Protester stipends untethered by veto from a hostile Council. Baillie's remarks reinforce my conclusion that F.N. McCoy overestimates the absolute power of Gillespie in Glasgow - V. Infra, p.167.

(70) Glasgow Records, II, 371.

that I might not come from London without a pocket watch. I ... could not obtain of him to take them back. You would doe me a favour to wreat to him that he might take them from me ... I have not been usit to the lyke, and ... if I could serve the interest of honest men with yow, I am very free to it.'(71)

Sharp was however unable to resist a greater bribe after the Restoration.

Sharp was not one to panic at Gillespie's progress, and although he admitted to Baillie 'I cannot vye vie with your Grandee Patrick', (72) he was adept at subtle negotiation. He assured Baillie on 28 July 1657 that although the passing of the Additional Petition and Advice

'was mainly with an eye to your citie; yet I doe not think that the agitators have reached all ther desyres by it, and am of the mind that it shall tend to ther disadvantage, beeng a demonstratable evidence of ther spirit and way to all sober men heir, who see clearie they drive at domination and rule, and can be satisfied with nothing lesse.'(73)

He advised Baillie's 'people' on the Council to play down the attack on them - 'The lesse notice they take of it, or noise be made of about it, the less fear they may have of the prejudices of it.'(74) Sharp felt that the Provost's letters to Court 'made too great dinn about that bussiness.'(74A) However he had discussed the issue with Thurloe, mentioning Glasgow's case in particular, and the Secretary had promised that 'somewhat would be done speedilie for rectifying of matters.'(75)

The initial result of the passing of Gillespie's 'Proviso' was to delay the annual elections in Glasgow -

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(71) Baillie, III, 342.

(72) Ibid.

(73) Ibid., 341.

(74) Ibid., 342.

(74A) Register of the Consultations of the ministers at Edinburgh ... II, 1657-60, 47. ed. W. Stephen, (Edinburgh; SHS, 3rd series, xvi, 1930)

(75) Baillie, III, 343.

the Parliament having risen, the clause was theoretically operative until Parliament met and repealed it. The delay was however largely occasioned by the desire of Thurloe and the Government to investigate the affairs of the burgh, rather than to persecute. Gillespie's effectiveness was now hampered by an illness, which was the talk of Glasgow - Baillie wished him well, lest 'If the Lord at this time remove him, we are in hazard to have his place quicklie filled with a worse'.(76) The Glasgow magistrates were so keen to hear the news from London that they appointed 'John Fleming to wryt to his man who lyes at London to send hom for the townes use, weiklie, ane diurnall'(77) on 5 September 1657. On 29 September the burgh received 'ane letter direct from his highnes, the Lord Protector, quhairby his hienes desyres the electioun of the magistrates of this brughe be deferred untill he sall be mor fullie informed in that particular'.(78) On 6 October the magistrates decided to accept their instructions, but firmly recorded that this incident should not be used as precedent to hazard Council liberties in future.(79)

The attack on Glasgow disturbed the Scottish burghs - a member of the Council of State, Samuel Desborough (Disbrowe) wrote to Thurloe on 10 October, warning him that Cromwell's letter

'hath made a great noyse heare, and raysed feares in the burroughs that it may be their turne shortly; and if a magistrate

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(76) Ibid., 356-357.

(77) Glasgow Records, II, 377.

(78) Ibid., 381.

(79) Ibid., 382.

should be imposed upon that towne, its lookt upon by many as a high breach of theyr priviledges settled by law, and confirmed as they thinke, by the parliament in theyr (Humble) petition and advise'. (80)

Desborough, a bumptious and tactless man, was regarded by Guthrie's group in September 1656 as 'the great enemye to al our business'. He had his own solution to the Glasgow issue in 1657, which if anything favoured Gillespie - it was certainly noxious to burgh liberties and the established magistrates. He suggested that

'if his highnes may please to recommend to that towne some honest godly man of his own knowledge to be elected by them to the magistracy, and write to the council there, or the generall, that he or they doe improve theyr interest to have other good men chosen into the towne, I am persuaded it might effect the end without any noyse or trouble'. (81)

As Desborough admitted, his notion was 'raw and indigested'.

Monck had been far more practical when he wrote to Cromwell on 24 September 1657 defending 'Glasgow, or any other citty or burgh within this nation', pointing out that under the Humble Petition and Advice, matters not reserved by it for government control were to be left to the 'lawes of these nations'. Thus although he wished 'the remonstrateing party very well' he felt that the attack on burgh liberties was 'opposite to law', and likely to weaken the Protectorate's support by alienating the burghs

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(80) Ibid., 382-383; A.P.S., VI, ii, 913. (Samuel Desborough or Disbrowe, was the younger brother of the Army Grandee, John Desborough. A refugee in New England under Charles I's religious policy, he returned to serve the Commonwealth. At the Restoration he reached an understanding with Monck, full pardon, and retained his estates. See D.N.B., 14, 404-5).

(81) Glasgow Records, II, 383; A.P.S., VI, ii, 913.

'who were the very first that owned us ... and have ever since lived peaceably under us'. He said nothing against the authors of the scheme to control the magistracies 'whom I hear to be good men', (82) but advised that the burghs be left to free elections.

However strictly speaking, by law, the magistrates of Glasgow were, as supporters of the Engagement, ineligible for office under the Additional Petition and Advice - although paradoxically their party were indeed 'the very first that owned' the English, by their bargain over the Tender of Union in February/March 1652. (83) In effect the principles of the Act of Classes were at stake, but fortunately for the Glasgow conservatives the policy of the Protectorate was against exclusivism and division - pragmatists like Thurloe and Broghill realised that a wider support for the Government was essential to secure a lasting settlement, and the tide had turned against the 'Metropolitan' (84) of Glasgow. Baillie was earnestly explaining the situation in Glasgow to Sharp, but Sharp was well aware of the internal struggles of Glasgow politics (85) and by November 1657 had succeeded in persuading the English Council of State to refer the case to 'the Councell of Scotland, but with this expres caveat, that they doe nothing to the infringement of the liberties of

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(82) Glasgow Records, II, 379-80; A.P.S., VI, ii, 913.

(83) See Supra, p.102.

(84) The term is Sharp's - See Baillie, III, 347.

(85) Florence McCoy in stating that 'neither Sharp nor Cromwell could have been expected to know anything about ... the internal contest for control of Glasgow' rather underestimates the awareness of Sharp - at least - in this respect. Bailie James Pollok would have kept him well informed regarding the anti-Gillespie campaign. (See F.N. McCoy, op.cit., p.195)

that burgh'.(86) Lambert's faction could no longer aid Gillespie.

With the case in Edinburgh, the Glasgow magistrates could bring all their influence to bear through local contacts and endless emissaries. Sharp had advised Baillie to assure them that:

'If Mr Gillespie, upon his return, make any bustling in that matter, your honest men need not be discouraged from prosecuting their just rights by all he can doe either there or here. Let them use their moyen with their friends in the Councill, at Edinburgh; and if they apprehend any hazard by the power of same there, let them labour for a delay of hearing ... till it please the Lord to bring me home, (which I hope will be within 20 dayes at farthest)'.(87)

Sharp's advice came on 21 November, and by December John Walkinshaw and Walter Neilson of Glasgow were in Edinburgh defending burgh liberties. The Provost of Edinburgh, Sir Andrew Ramsay,(88) was thanked 'for his paines tackin in the tounes maters now in handis'.(89) In early January 1658, Walkinshaw, Neilson, John Anderson and William Anderson were sent as witnesses 'for proveing of the lyfe and conversatioune of the saidis magistrates and counsall'.(90) A prepared defence of the burgh leaders was heard and approved by the whole Council apart from Bailie John Hall, surgeon.(91) Hall's dissent comes

(86) Baillie, III, 348.

(87) Ibid.

(88) Nicoll, Diary, p.202 (It was fortunate for the Glasgow magistrates that they had the conservative Sir Andrew to deal with, rather than the Protester, Sir James Stewart, who gained office in October 1658 - See Nicoll, Diary, p.219)

(89) Glasgow Records, II, 387.

(90) Ibid., 388.

(91) Ibid.

as no surprise for he was to be involved in an intrigue with Gillespie which penetrated to the very heart of the Council's ranks.

Gillespie's attempts to influence the judgement on Glasgow's affairs between January and March 1658 are very complex, and great reliance has to be placed on the hostile accounts given by Baillie and Nicoll - the burgh records ignore much of the internecine conspiracy. Apparently Gillespie, who returned from London in November 1657, had gained a last minute concession at Court, whereby a five-man Commission was set up to hear the case against the Glasgow magistrates in Edinburgh(92) - although it does not seem to have had authority over the full Scottish Council of State in its decision: in effect it was an advisory Committee. On it were

'Major Dorney, a sectarian preacher, but intime with that partie (of Gillespie), the Governour of the Castle of Dumbartane, an ana baptist, as they say, Lieutenant-Colonell Simons, Commissar Lockhart, and young (Hamilton of) Orbistoun. At their first meeting, their proceeding was so illegall that Orbistoun and Lockhart protested against it, and refused to sitt. Our Magistrates appealed to the Councill, and refused to answer; not withstanding, Mr Patrick moved the three English sojourns to proceed, as they did, till they had sworne and heard all they pleased, on proveist, baillies, and most of the counsell: against some they swore about fourtie witnesses without any libell, but What know ye of this man? in a way so irrational and illegall, that all cryed out on it'.(93)

The 'three sojourns' were assisted by Gillespie's creature, James Porter, clerk to the Presbytery of Glasgow, whilst

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(92) Baillie, III, 361-363.

(93) Ibid., 361.

'Mr Patrick and Mr John Spreul (were) instructing every witness as they thought fitt'.(94) However the Council of State remained unimpressed by the Committee's report, no doubt being aware of its bias.

Mr Patrick then brought forward his prize witness, the above-mentioned John Hall - 'a wavering and volage man, albeit the Provest's nephew' - to 'tell all the evill tales he could of his colleagues'.(95) Even more astonishingly Gillespie won Walter Neilson and William Anderson over to his side,(96) forming a secret cabal to pack the eventual election. Neilson's defection is perhaps understandable - as mentioned previously he had clashed with John Bell, the most aggressive member of the patrician conservatives, over craft regulations recently,(97) and Baillie says he was given to more 'drinking and profanitie than any three of ... (Gillespie's) companie': yet 'such was his ambition to continue in office, (that he), was willing to join in a chanculary way ... to serve Mr G(illespie's) designes'.(98) William Anderson however had been a member of the most recent embassies in defence of the burgh liberties.

This splendid plot must have been in readiness as early as 4 January 1658, for Gillespie rejected a reasonable compromise forced on the Glasgow agents by Desborough, in which they consented

'for peice caus ... to remove nyne persounis  
of the present toune counsall at the

(94) Ibid., 362.

(95) Baillie, III, 361.

(96) Ibid., 363.

(97) V.Supra, p.149.

(98) Baillie, III, 363.

electiounes at Michalmas nixt, and that be lauffull electiounes at the said tyme thair could be nyne persounis of that pairtie quha ar awned be Mr Patrick Gillespie'.(99)

John Anderson and James Campbell were appointed 'to repair to the said Mr Gillespie and to try his mind thairintill ... quha altogither refuseit to receive thair offer'.(100)

Gillespie probably saw little strength in controlling nine places out of thirty two, and was holding out for a complete purge in the manner of October 1645 and October 1648. Unabashed, the Glasgow leaders continued their diplomacy at Edinburgh - John Bell and Robert Rae went through on 9 January 1658: James Pollok and John Anderson on 6 February.(101) In the interim the magistrates and council swore to do their best for the burgh in the absence of elections 'and to reveill nothing spockine of or concluded upone at the counsall table'.(102)

At last on 13 February the Council of State took positive action, scrutinising the burgh records for 1645 and 1648,(103) (the critical years for party alignment in Glasgow over the reception of Montrose and the Engagement) probably seeking relief from Gillespie's witnesses for the prosecution. A further petition from Glasgow was delivered on 20 February(104) and finally success was achieved when on 27 February

'compeirit Major Henrie Dornie and productit ane act sett doune be the counsall of stait for removeing and away tacking the stope that was put to the electiounes of the

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(99) Glasgow Records, II, 388-389.

(100) Ibid.

(101) Ibid., 389; 390.

(102) Ibid., 389.

(103) Ibid., 390.

(104) Ibid., 391.

magistratis of this burgh, and appoynting  
ane new electioun to be made ... on  
Tysday nixt ... conform to old use and  
wont'. (105)

There was actually sufficient evidence in the burgh records to cause the Council of State to uphold Gillespie's claims, had the Government's aim been to perpetuate the spirit of the Act of Classes and the Kirk Party rampant. However as suggested above this was not the intention of the moderate careerists who controlled policy. Monck for instance would have been alarmed at Gillespie's association with Lambert, Fleetwood and even 'the Sectarians' (106) - although the Protester had little choice when Baillie effectively lined the London Presbyterians against him via Francis Rous. Gillespie had unfortunately found support on the losing side of the moment, for Lambert's chagrin at the Humble Petition and Advice (which by making the Protectorate 'hereditary' in the House of Cromwell cut him off from the position of heir apparent) cost him his place in the Army. The 'Court group' in London were in the ascendancy, and stability and settlement inspired them more than Gillespie's empire-building.

However Gillespie was still well enough prepared for the coming election - he even boldly laid aside his accusations against the magistrates and lobbied for it. (107) Unfortunately the authorities found out about his plot 'The

(105) Glasgow Records, II, 391.

(106) See Baillie, III, 354-355. (Baillie consistently smears the Glasgow Protesters with collusion with 'Sectarians'. He was much alarmed by the evidence of Quaker support 'in Leinzie, Dowglass and other places' and probably felt Protester 'purging' was allowing the Sects access - See Baillie, III, 357)

(107) Ibid., 363.

day before the elction, and no sooner'. Thus they altered the leets, carrying

'not only that W. Andersone should not be on the lite to be Proveist but should have no place in Councill, as being neither merchand nor craftsman: they got John Andersone of Dowhill proveist, (John) Walkinshaw and James Barnes, baillies, James Campbell, dean of guild, John Hall put off the councill, and all made close contrare to Mr Patrick's mind; only Walter Neilson, by the power of his pairtie, was made baillie, but all his followers they gott aff the Councill, so that Wattie now signifies nothing'.(108)

The official account of the election of 2 March 1658 in the burgh records shows that the burgh leaders would suffer no invasion of their authority by Protesters - Sir George Maxwell attempted to exercise the Lennox nominations but his commission was rejected, as being of an 'old date'.(109) On 13 March the magistrates wrote to Lord Cochran of Dundonald, a leading western Resol-utioner, tactfully explaining their action.(110) Cochran was unopposed when he exercised the nominations in the next election of October 1658. The new Council of March 1658 was of course conservative, despite thirteen changes from the previous body. Three Porterfieldians survived - John Grahame, Thomas Allen, and Robert Wilson - but they were completely outnumbered by their opponents. Although James Bell elder was dead, and Colin Campbell in temporary retirement, there were still ten members of the Engagement Council of June-October 1648 returned, despite Monck's

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(108) Ibid. (Whether this was done by the Glasgow Council or the Council of State is ambiguous in Baillie's account. However the local Council seems far more probable)

(109) Glasgow Records, II, 393.

(110) Ibid., 394.

rule that members had to be acceptable under the Humble Petition and Advice.(111) After all, Monck himself had interpreted that Act to preclude interference in burgh elections on a previous occasion.(112) The second generation of conservative leaders in Glasgow, dominated by John Bell was now coming to the fore.

The Glasgow Protesters stood by Gillespie's Proviso. Gillespie petitioned the Council of State against this 'irregular' election, and succeeded in gaining summons against fourteen councillors 'to answer to ... former depositions'(113) (presumably between 1645 and 1648). Both parties went to Edinburgh to plead their case, and Gillespie must have received a shock when he encountered forceful opposition from 'The chief of the Toune-Councill ... John Bell and John Walkinshaw, right wise, diligent and bold men, who hes had many shreud encounters with Mr Gillespie'.(114) They carried the fight straight to his camp, attacking his administration of college funds on 1 April 1658.

'They say that never Bishop in Scotland lived at so high a rate; and the main cause why he meddled to have his own faction in the magistracie was his assurance, that those who are now in place, when they come to audit the Colledge counts, will not allow but complain of his vast unreasonable charge'.(115)

Gillespie quickly solicited a testimonial from his colleagues, and even the students. He was supported by the Rector,

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(111) Ibid., 393.

(112) V.Supra, pp.158-9.

(113) Baillie, III, 363.

(114) Ibid.

(115) Ibid., 364.

Sir George Maxwell, but Baillie stood aloof.(116) Despite this testimonial, and 'ane other but very impertinently drawne' presented by George Porterfield on behalf of the Presbytery,(117) the Council pressed on with formal charges, although John Bell's 'extemporall draught' had to be toned down. Only pressure by Mr John Young, the College Commissioner and his friends on the Council of State persuaded the Bell group to desist; 'so they were content to let it hang over his head for a tyme, till they see if he move anything farder against them, which he threatens he will doe; but they doe not now regard his utmost endeavours'.(118)

Thus Patrick Gillespie's greatest campaign was thwarted. He was to continue to disturb the Glasgow magistrates by stirring the crafts against them over the next eighteen months but his greatest opportunity had passed, and the burgh leaders had seized the initiative. His power in Glasgow has been exaggerated by Florence McCoy in her study of Baillie, probably because the issue was viewed largely from the Kirk approach. For instance Ms McCoy has said that by late 1659 'Gillespie and the Protesters had lost control over the Glasgow town council'.(119) In fact Gillespie never controlled the Council, although his power in Presbytery, Synod and College limited the Council's role in Kirk affairs severely. Certainly his associates of the Porterfield group controlled the Council for the greater part of the earlier period,

(116) Ibid., 372-373.

(117) Ibid., 372.

(118) Ibid., 373.

(119) F.N. McCoy, op.cit., p.205; V.Supra, p.155.

1645-1652, but Gillespie did not at any time between 1652 and 1660 have more than a handful of supporters on the Council. A closer study of the Glasgow political scene shows in fact that the patrician merchants were hard men to control. The men who dominated the Council between 1652 and Gillespie's assaults of 1657-1658 were essentially establishment conservatives, returning domestic management to a traditional pattern after the 'excesses' of the extreme Kirk Party rule. By 1658 the leaders who were to carry on without interruption beyond the Restoration were fully entrenched - the young merchants, John Bell and John Anderson of Dowhill in particular.

The available evidence for Gillespie's struggle with the Glasgow establishment comes from his enemies - Baillie's support for John Bell's group during the Interregnum was unwavering, and he could not be expected to favour a man like Gillespie who threatened all he stood for in Kirk and society. Similarly Nicoll was on the side of the Resolutioners - in his summary of the year 1657 he wrote in despair

'It is ane wonder to behold the frequent chaynges and alteratiounes within this natioun, sum contendand for places and offices, utheris incrocheand upone their nichtbouris places and statiounes, both in brugh and land; quhairof the Town of Glasgow haid a sufficient pruiiff at this time, quha be the moyen of Mr Patrik Gillespy ... haid devydit the peepill thair of in factiounes, tending to bring in pepill of his awin cunzie and muild to be magistrates ... and haid purchest Warrands to that effect fra his Heynes the Protector'. (120)

Like Baillie, Nicoll was consistent - he had said as much

about Porterfield's bid for power in 1645, when the Committee of Estates purged the Council.(121) In the event however Gillespie's plans were over-ambitious, although he must have had local support outside the clique of Protester ministers (£150 stg. was raised for his London trip)(122) In the absence of any evidence that he had radical policies for the improvement of society in Glasgow - as opposed to buildings and the careers of his faction - no advantage to the burgh can be seen in his regime. George Porterfield, who is seldom apparent in Gillespie's attacks, gives the impression of wider social responsibility: however Porterfield's scope was the greater as his group did hold the Council power. Of course to conservative interests, the regime of the early Kirk Party in Glasgow before 1652 had been spendthrift and irresponsible. Their expenditure on Gorbals lands was only recovered by a careful garnering of the malt tax by their successors according to Baillie, (123) whilst the Councils after 1652 made strenuous efforts to economise on poor relief, and public expenditure, thus avoiding excessive stenting.(124) This pattern of management was to continue after March 1658.

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(121) Ibid., pp.30-1; V.Supra, p.24. (Nicoll was a Glasgow man, and later provided news reports from Edinburgh for the Glasgow Council in 1660.)  
Glasgow Records, II, 436.

(122) Baillie, III, 364.

(123) Ibid., 360-1.

(124) Ibid. ; V.Supra, pp.111-3.

**"The Politics and Society of Glasgow: 1648-1674"**

**Part two: Glasgow under the Cromwellian Union, 1652-60**

**Chapter V 'This great and comfortable revolution':  
the malignant triumph and the Restoration  
in Glasgow, April 1658 - 1660**

'... this great and comfortable revolution bears  
wreath in its fairhead so many characteristics of the  
infinite power, wisdom and fidelity of the Most  
High that we cannot but wonder at it and say:  
"This is our God, we have waited for him."'-

**Sir James Stewart's letter of congratulation to  
Charles Stewart on the eve of the Restoration.  
Convention Records, III, 505.**

After their victory over Gillespie's faction in March-April 1658, the Council of Glasgow continued to guard against the schemes of the Western Protesters. On 19 June 1658 they appointed John Lockhart - subsequently their M.P. in Richard Cromwell's Parliament - as their agent in London, with particular instructions to secure

'the friedome of the electiounes of the magistrates and counsall ... so mutche opposit be Mr Gillespie and his adherentis, and to imply advocattis, lawiouris and all utheris of that kynd, to pleid in law for defence thairof'.(1)

However the ordinary business of the town had to go on, despite Gillespie.

The Council had quickly taken measures to ensure their dignity - on 27 March 1658 they ruled that

'no maner of persone presume or tack wpon hand to enter in ony of the saites appoyntit for the magistrates and counsall in ony of the kirkes, certifieng all quho does in the contrarie sall be imprisoned and maid ther to remain quhill they pay threttie shillinges Scotis for the wse of the poor, how oft and sua oft as they sall contraveine'.(2)

They were equally stern with the able-bodied poor, appointing

'William Lightbodie and Johne Williamsoune, warkmen, to put the sturdie beggares and wthers the lyk aff the toune, and to punish deliquentes by puting them on the cock-stool, or wther wayes as the magistrates sall appoynt'.

The two officers were to be paid thirty shillings Scots monthly for their duties, or licence to persecute.

Specific instructions were even more rigorous

'1. They sall suffer no stranger beggers to

(1) Glasgow Records, II, 399-400.

(2) Ibid., 395.

- beg, bot to pass throw the towne and sie that they goe clos out.
2. They sall suffer no towne beggers quha receaves contributioune to goe to door to door to bege.
  3. They sall tack notis of all vagaboundes quha hes no calling and sarch out the way of ther living, and if they be anywayes suspected to informe the magistrat therof.
  4. They sall attend everie day about the cros, but specially at the sitting of Justice Courtes, for executing ther decreites against blasphemers, raillers, cursers, and other vitious livers'.

Anyone who hindered the execution of these duties 'sall be condignelie and severelie punished, be sight of the magistrates'.(3)

Conditions were severe again for the Poor in 1658.

In the previous year

'In Glasgow, and in uther townes (except Edinburgh) the pryces of all kynd of drink wes much les, and the stuff much better ... The victuall ... wes verie guid, weill win, and very chaip. The somer being very het and dry, and the harvest exceiding pleasant and airlie'.(4)

But in 1658:

'This cold and unseasonable spring productit much diseases among the pepill through many pairtes of this natioun: speciallie of cold humoris upone the bodyes of wemen and men, quhairof few in the kingdom were eximed. Besyde that the cornes and gers were far behind the ordinar tyme of growing; the wind still blowing out of the eist and be-north be the space of monethis'.

By June the Presbytery of Edinburgh was calling for a fast after 'This unseasonable spring and cold weather', calling for 'humiliation and repentance'. The dark shadow was on

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(3) Ibid., 399. (On 31 January 1662 one of the 'beadles' appointed, William Lightbody, was 'benished the toune' with his wife and family, 'for his scandalous living'. See Glasgow Records, II, 481-482)

(4) Nicoll, Diary, p.208.

the land by harvest time, when

'it pleased the Lord ... to threattene this natioun with the plaig of famyne, be sending down extra ordiner raynes and heigh winds, sum tyme to shaik, another tyme to rot and consume the cornes, and be sending flasches of fyre and thunder to the destruction of the cornes'.(5)

There were fasts in all the churches of Lothian. In Glasgow, set-prices for tallow and candle rose in October 1658, although bread prices were quite low at 1/5d per lb(6) - possibly reflecting a famine subsidy, or less stringent conditions in the West Country, more sheltered from winds 'out of the eist and be-north'. In 1659 bread prices in Glasgow were standardised, the weight of a 12d. loaf altering with wheat prices.(7)

Local necessities and trade are often concealed by the eminence of politics in Kirk and State, but even as the Gillespie campaigns fermented, the basis of a great trading expansion after the Restoration was being laid. Gillespie himself did nothing for the economy of the burgh, and John Spreule's performance suffers badly in comparison with William Thomson, Clerk of Edinburgh, who gained useful concessions at Court for his burgh.(8) But other Protesters were closely involved in practical affairs. In 1657 a great struggle for the control of the Clyde began

(5) Ibid., pp.214; 215; 217.

(6) See Appendix II for basic commodity prices, 1638-90.

(7) Glasgow Records, II, 433.

(8) For Thomson's gains for Edinburgh in late 1660, see his 'Report' in Extracts from the Records of the burgh of Edinburgh, ed. M. Wood, (London and Edinburgh, 1927-54), vol. 1655-65, 219. Thomson was an even sharper manipulator than Spreule (V. Infra, pp.128;135.) although he eventually fell victim to a local feud with Sir Andrew Ramsay in 1664 (See Edinburgh Records, op.cit., 355-357)

with Dumbarton, in which merchants of both political factions found common ground. Trading connections seem to cut across party boundaries in a petition of the owners of the good ship 'Love of Glasgow' to the Protector in December 1657, where John Graham is listed with John Bell, John Walkinshaw, James Campbell, John Anderson of Dowhill and other conservatives. The petitioners objected to paying port dues to Dumbarton, and in particular, the impudence 'of the said burgh ... in stoping and impeding the frie merchands of the ... frie burgh royall of Glasgow and debarring of them from sailing up and down our publict river of Clyd'.(9) In fact it was as yet difficult to get anything bigger than 'small boattis' or lighters past the Dumbuck shoals and other Inches to Glasgow bridge, but Glasgow men had ambitions.

They already possessed a Royal Charter of 1636, recognising their efforts to improve Clyde navigation, and confirming the authority of their Water Bailie over the river from Glasgow Bridge to the Cloch stane (on the great bend of the Firth below Gourock). The city was awarded the freedom of the river on each bank within these bounds.(10) It was indeed their 'publict river of Clyd', if they had the enterprise to develop it against rival claims.

A crisis arose early in 1658. On 27 February Glasgow told its merchants to enter port returns at home rather than as they were 'wont to doe formerlie in Dumbartane' until the issue of returns was settled. Unfortunately

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(9) S.R.A., A/1/1/4. 'Dispute with Dumbarton over shipping dues'.

(10) J.D. Marwick, The River Clyde and the harbour of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1898) p.13.

the Dumbarton men responded outrageously, committing a 'great ryot', seizing 'the haill saills, amunitioune, missoures, armes, guid(s), and geir ... out of the shippes belonging to this burgh'(11) and jailing Robert Bogle of Glasgow. A Council Committee investigated this outrage, and instigated legal proceedings in Edinburgh. On 16 April John Grahame was sent to Dumbarton to 'joyne with the magistrates ... for electing of ane thrid persone for collecting the dewes fra shippes arryving in the Clyd, conforme to the counsall estaites ordour'.(12) The Council of State also ordered the release of Glasgow's gear and Robert Bogle. The case dragged on at the Court at Dalkeith - John Bell and John Walkinshaw went through on 24 April, and George Porterfield was invited to represent the Council on 8 November:(13) the involvement of Porterfield and Grahame is of course consistent with Graham's business interests in the 'Love of Glasgow'. A glimpse of success is apparent in an order from the Convention of Burghs of June 1660, gained by Bailie Campbell and presented by James Hamilton to the commander of Dumbarton Castle 'for not stopping of boatis comes up the water as formerlie'.(14) However the struggle only concluded on 19 April 1666 when the actions were decided in Glasgow's favour.(15) This feud with Dumbarton undoubtedly influenced Glasgow in its selection of a site at Newark, on the south bank of the Clyde estuary

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(11) Glasgow Records, II, 395; 396.

(12) Ibid., 396.

(13) Ibid., 397; 409.

(14) Ibid., 446.

(15) Ibid., III, 72-78.

for its New Port of Glasgow after the Restoration.

After a brief lull between April and July 1658, the internal power struggle in Glasgow was resumed. On 17 July the Commissioner to the Convention of Royal Burghs, John Walkinshaw, returned with a supplication in Glasgow's interest to the Protector, signed by the burghs.(16) The Glasgow Council were still keen to gain sympathy at Court, for the Protesters held control of the Presbytery, and were preparing dissension amongst the Crafts. Gillespie's direct attack had been parried, and the 'libell' hung over his head should his personal intervention become too obvious, but his agents were very busy.

A test-case for pulpit supply was initiated with the death of the moderate James Durham of the High Kirk in June 1658. The magistrates were determined to end Protester domination. Durham had anticipated a conflict, and issued a short leet of three candidates before his death - Francis Aird, George Campbell and Ralph Rodger. A powerful committee of Council, including Provost, Bailies, and Dean of Guild, John Bell, took up the issue: John Graham negotiated for the Protesters.(17) After endless wrangling the Protesters endured with the appointment of Rodger - a capable man, whom even Baillie found acceptable on first impressions.(18)

The death of the Resolutioner, George Young of the Tron Kirk Collegiate charge extended the struggle. Rodgers

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(16) Glasgow Records, II, 400.

(17) Ibid., 400; 403; 427-8.

(18) Baillie, III, 434.

placing was only as a concession to the Protesters in return for cooperation over the Collegiate post, where the parishioners and magistrates wanted James Fergusson of Kilwinning. Perversely, the Protester Presbytery put forward Gillespie's old ally, John Livingstone of Ancrum. (19) The magistrates offered the Protesters a new kirk and stipend in return for Fergusson's call on 2 March 1660: again the Gillespians refused. (20) On 26 March the Council were fuming about the Presbytery's 'hitherto slighting the town anent the calling of Mr James Fergusone'. (21) Despite all efforts, Fergusson remained at Kilwinning till his death in 1667, (22) and the Tron Collegiate charge remained vacant. It may be a sign of the times, or a reflection of the limitations of burgh records as a historical source, that at least as much emphasis is placed upon the Fergusson affair as on the Restoration in the Council Minutes. (23) The net result of supply contests was to deprive congregations of the services of a minister, and increase the load on his colleagues. The Protesters seemed willing to accept this - especially as the other Tron minister was the Resolutioner, Hugh Blair.

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(19) Ibid., Livingstone was 'most active for their partie, wise and powerfull with the English'.

(20) Glasgow Records, II, 438; 440-1. This charge was to be available to Livingstone.

(21) Ibid., 440. The Protester, James Blair of Cathcart, 'did preach to the Magistrates in their faces that their opposition to the Session in the plantation of their churches ... would draw on them the punishment of Core, Dathan and Abiram ... for their rebellion against Jesus Christ'. (Baillie, III, 394-5)

(22) Fasti, III, 117.

(23) Glasgow Records, II, 443. The reference to the impending Restoration is jumbled in with a more humble but spiritual call, to James Fergusson.

[ the original mss. entry is identical to the printed extracts of the Records in this respect ]

A parallel campaign went on between the Gillespian interests in the crafts and the burgh establishment, commencing prior to the elections of October 1658. On 20 September 1658 the magistrates instructed Bailie Walter Neilson and Manasses Lyall, the Deacon Convener, to attend the craft deacon elections and

'suffer none to be put on lytt to bear office as deacon of his calling for the year ensewing quha hes any wayes walked contrary to his burgess oath, in not giveing that dew obedience to the magistrates he is sworn to'.(24)

The involvement of Neilson in this rather unsubtle attempt to pre-empt Gillespian activity among craft leaders may seem strange after his association with Gillespie in March,(25) but Neilson was a supreme opportunist, and may have been attempting to regain favour with the magistrates after their victory. In the event this current enterprise backfired on Neilson and Lyall. The opposition or radical group in the crafts succeeded in forcing them (and William Neilson) to lay 'themselves asyd aff the counsell for preveining the townes being put to further truble and expenssis, becaus they wer members of the towne

(24) Glasgow Records, II, 405-6.

(25) V.Supra, p.162 for details of Neilson's political deviations. Despite all efforts the Neilson brothers failed to get back on the Council between October 1658 and 1664. This may not entirely have been due to proscription under the Humble Petition and Advice, for Manasses Lyall (similarly afflicted) came back in 1660, when the Petition was in any case made redundant by the Restoration. When the Anderson clique took over control in 1664, Walter Neilson became Deacon Convener, and in the light of his association with William Anderson in early 1658, an element of continuity in interests seems likely. Such affinities are very significant, because the central theme of Restoration politics in Glasgow is the split in Resolutioner/Establishment ranks, and the emergence of an Anderson clique in opposition to the Bell-Campbell axis.

counsell in anno 1648'.(26) The magistrates were forced to delay deacon elections while this issue was negotiated.

Indeed the election of the new Council itself was delayed from 8 to 18 October because of 'ane deficultie arysing thairintill in following the cours appoynted be the humble petitione and adyce'. The election of Provost and Magistrates had gone ahead smoothly on 5 October, with the Resolutioner and friend of the standing magistrates, Lord Cochran, performing the Lennox nominations. John Bell became Provost - his just reward, and the first of nine such terms of invaluable service to himself, his relatives and the development and prosperity of Glasgow. Frederick Hamilton, Robert Rae and Andrew Mudie were elected Bailies. None of these officers had been members of the Engagement Council of June-October 1648 - precisely because they had not entered burgh politics at that date. Thus they were free from official contagion with malignancy - the only 'objective' source of evidence available to Government investigators was membership of the 'guilty' judicatories. But of course continuity of 'Engager' politics was far greater than mere membership of the Council of mid 1648, for the Engagers voted friends and relatives, such as John Bell into office. Table VII below traces the official careers of members of the Engagement Council, and lists the number of former Porterfield Councillors in office after March 1652.

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(26) Glasgow Records, II, 407.

Table VIIThe balance of parties on the Glasgow Council, 1652-1660

<u>Date of Election</u>	<u>Engagers returned</u>	<u>Porterfieldians returned</u>
March 1652	15	-
October 1652	15	-
October 1655	14	3
October 1656	11	3
March 1658	10	3
October 1658	6	1
October 1659	8	1
October 1660	8	-

During this period at least two Engagers died - Daniel Wallace in 1654, and James Bell in 1655. (27) The figure for October 1658 reflects the efforts of craft radicals to enforce their interpretation of Gillespie's Proviso to the Humble Petition and Advice, but Baillie is quite inaccurate in claiming that 'not only such a proveist and baillies, bot also a counsell (was chosen) as hes not a man in hazard of Mr Gillespie's accusations' (28) for six former Engagers were returned. Three were officers - James Colquhoun, Treasurer; John Barnes, Water Bailie, and John Miller, Visitor of Maltmen. Three were ordinary councillors - James Hamilton, Hendrie Glen and John Anderson, younger. The conservatives were in full control, and far from achieving a break-through, the Protesters had lost John Grahame. Only Thomas Allen survived of the once powerful Porterfield group - and his loyalty to their cause is uncertain, for he had been a Bailie in 1656, and returned to the Council in 1664 with the Anderson group. All the Protesters could do now was

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(27) Anderson, Provosts, pp.15; 22.

(28) Baillie, III, 383.

to sabotage the Council from the outside, and with less reason than the Committee of the Communalty had possessed in 1651.

The merchant ranks had closed against them, and the Protesters' main influence was with the crafts. But even here they were under fire - not directly from the Council, but from a conservative faction of the crafts, who resented the exclusion of their friends, Manasses Lyall and the Neilsons from office. On 19 October 1658 this group, led by Matthew Wilson, cordiner, reminded the magistrates that there were still actions pending before the Scottish Council of State regarding proscriptions among the crafts, and they wanted the election of Deacon Convener delayed until a decision had been reached at Dalkeith. The deputation pointedly remarked that although several of their members were presently 'unable to bear any public trust in this commonwealth, be the humble petition and advyce' there were 'severall persones ... whom the law does not reach who ar members of this judicatorie who ar not warned and ought to have been'. They referred of course to the six 'Engagers' still in office. They proposed that John Bell and John Grahame adjudicate, and the magistrates agreed that these two should 'propone the best overtures of peace ... provyded always theis ... be noways derogatorie to the magistrates and counsell'.(29) The letters of Deaconry were called in.

No more is heard until 22 January 1659 when the

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(29) Glasgow Records, II, 407-8.

conservative group again petitioned the Council. (30) A group of trade deacons led by John Miller, maltman (an 'Engager') and James Waddrop, cordiner (recently elected to the Council and a regular from now on) complained bitterly about

'divers persons of lait risen amongst them, wha, throw brecking and violating the actis of parliament, keeping wnwarrantable convocationes contrair thereto, and wthers their misregardis and contempt to the magistratis and throw their wther insolenceis, ar lyklie to caus the hailt tredsmen of this burgh lois ther hailt liberties and priviledges'. (31)

They wanted permission to hold a convocation of 'themselves and all wther craftismen who will adhear to them' to elect 'ane preces' to control the hospital and charities until a proper deacon convener was elected. The magistrates allowed this and banned rival meetings. James Waddrop was made 'preces' and authorised to check market produce. (32)

On 9 April 1659 three rival parties submitted leets for the election of a deacon-convener. The first delegate to arrive was John Hall, who had already embarrassed the magistrates during the Gillespie campaign of March 1658. His leet was contested by Archibald Anderson, cordiner, and William Boyd, mason, but the magistrates rejected them all, deferring the election until

(30) The Council of State merely referred the grievances of Neilson and Lyall to the Convention of Burghs, who record no action beyond ordering the parties to appear before the next general convention. See Convention Records, III, 482.

(31) Glasgow Records, II, 411-412.

(32) Ibid., 412.

the 'ordinartyme' at Michaelmas.(33) Hall retaliated by stirring up his faction, mobbing the Council on 23 April -

'Johne Hall, being knocking at the counceill hous doore, desyring to have entrie, and it being grantit that he sould com in his alone and speak quhat he pleased; becaus he was not permittit to com in with ane multitud at his back, he refused to com in, but protestit at the doore'.(34)

Finally the feud was resolved at the election of 12 October 1659, when the faction of Archibald Anderson stood down for Robert Wilson's party.(35) This is most interesting, as Wilson was an ex-Porterfield councillor, although 'his' deacon-convener, John Buchanan, elder, had not been in office previously. Buchanan only enjoyed one term before the Restoration swept away radical influence in craft politics and Manasses Lyall came back to the deacon-convenership.

This struggle in craft circles was encouraged by Gillespie's group - in particular John Spreule, who was later accused of having 'bein the main stickler in formenting the vnhappie divisiounes that was amongs the tredis ... whereby many contemptis was offered by them to the magistratis of this burgh ...'.(36) Baillie said that the Gillespians had 'much prevailed' in their attempts to dominate craft politics 'but with such strife as sometimes it has come to strokes'. However 'this lent way does no satisfie'(37) the Protesters for it gave them

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(33) Ibid., 415.

(34) Ibid., 417.

(35) Ibid., 429.

(36) Ibid., 473.

(37) Baillie, III, 433.

little more than nuisance value in Council affairs. In all else they were being pushed back. The magistrates were contesting control of Kirk supply at every turn between June 1658 and May 1660 - as was their right, for they traditionally cooperated with the Presbytery in this respect, as providers of stipends. The Protesters were being humiliated in both great and petty matters of finance and patronage. For instance, when funds were required to rebuild the Merchants' Hospital in Briggait 'with ane steiple and hous heigher at least than that of Hutcheson's Hospitall' and a fine bell, the magistrates allocated to the fund 'the hundreth pundis starling that was awand be John Grahame, merchand, be his tickit'.(38) When Gillespie sought 7000 merks left to the College by William Struthers and Zachary Boyd, the Council refused to relinquish control of the legacy.(39) Again they refused Gillespie a seat for the College in the Outer High Kirk until the Faculty requested it officially; and 'sall requyre the samen'.(40) The College Librarian's post was again in contention - the magistrates put forward Mr John Bell, son of Robert Bell, minister of Dalry. Gillespie was difficult, so they refused him control of a vacant stipend created by James Durham's death until he saw reason.(41)

At a national level Gillespie's influence was on the wane. After Oliver Cromwell's death in September 1658,

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(38) Glasgow Records, II, 412.

(39) Ibid., 413.

(40) Ibid., 435.

(41) Ibid., 434. This issue was only resolved after Gillespie's fall, when a Mr James Bell, son of Robert Bell, was appointed. See Glasgow Records, II, 471.

Thurloe and the Court Party remained initially to sustain Richard, and they were no friends to the Protesters. Baillie relates a rather transparent attempt of Gillespie's to draw Thurloe 'off us towards himself and partie' by appointing the Secretary as Chancellor of the College. Baillie's clique warned Thurloe 'who therefore civillie refused it'. Gillespie created himself Vice-Chancellor by way of compensation - "Pat. Gillespius Pro-Cancellarius et Praefectus: A poor glory".(42) He soon found it more convenient to turn the Vice-Chancellorship over to the dedicated Protester, Robert McWard, to extend his arm. Gillespie certainly needed all the props he could muster for Monck was supreme at Dalkeith, and had seen through Patrick's pretensions.

However the Protesters received a sudden bonus in Edinburgh in October 1658, when their dynamic supporter, Sir James Stewart, was elected Provost. His return to power came due to a feud in which Baillie blamed William Thomson, Clerk of Edinburgh and London agent to the burghs, for betraying 'the publict interest into the hands of a Protester'(43) to spite Sir Andrew Ramsay (who had combined arrogance and ineptitude as Provost). Although Sir James had abjured the Remonstrance in June 1651, together with Sir George Maxwell and other gentry,(44) and now gave 'assurances enough to Mr Robert Douglas and others, and denies his Remonstrantism', Baillie did 'not weell believe or much trust him'.(45) Sir James held the Provostship

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(42) Baillie, III, 386; 397; 399.

(43) Baillie, III, 389.

(44) Memoirs ... by James Burns ..., p.20, in J. Maidment, op.cit.

(45) Baillie, III, 389-390.

until 1660, together with the Moderator's office in the Convention of Royal Burghs: in this dual capacity he pressed for Kirk liberties at the Restoration(46) - a bold move for one who had behaved 'in so insolent a manner that ... (he) would take no notice of the King nor bow to him'(47) when the Remonstrance had been presented to King and Estates in 1650.

The fall of the Protectorate in April 1659 caused alarm in Glasgow, for with the triumph of the Army Grandees, Gillespie went post-haste to London to lobby for his policies.(48) But he achieved nothing of consequence in four months' effort. Indeed not long after his return the local conservatives increased their hold on Glasgow in the elections of October 1659. Just before the elections a reform of procedure permitted candidates leeted for office to place their own votes, thus strengthening the element of self-perpetuation.(49) John Bell was again Provost, with the perennial James Colquhoun as craft Bailie, and James Pollok (habitual emissary and corrupter of James Sharp), and James Campbell, younger brother to Colin Campbell, and uncle to John Bell, as merchant Bailies. Eight 'Engagers' were returned, although Manasses Lyall and the Neilsons remained outside office in the compromise settlement of the crafts dispute.(50)

With the confusion of 1659, this 'year of revolutions', the Glasgow magistrates took steps to increase their

(46) V. Infra, pp. 189-90.

(47) Sir George Mackenzie, op.cit., p.14.

(48) Baillie, III, 396-397.

(49) Glasgow Records, II, 427.

(50) V. Supra, pp. 180-2.

emergency powers,

'taking to thair serious consideratioune the maniefold revolutiones fallis out from tyme to tyme, and that some things may occur wpon ane haist quhilk may concern the toune and be of weight and importance, and that the hail counsell at all tymes conveniently cannot be weill had or conveined ... therfor ... the present magistrates and wthers who hes borne office quhom they please to tak to their selves, sall have power to doe all things ... for the guid of the toune as if the hail counsell war warned and conveined for that effect'.(51)

They welcomed Monck's decision to intervene in high politics, sending Bailie Pollok to attend the General's farewell convocation of the shires and burghs.(52)

Monck told them to keep the peace in his absence, and promised to work for their interests in Parliament in return. Critically, the Scots gave him two instalments of the monthly cess, which ensured that his troops were paid - Lambert's were not, and this encouraged their wholesale desertion.

The Remonstrant gentry in the West attempted to secure the shire commissionerships after Monck left

"They lyked not Glencairne's imployment; they spoke of Lauderdaill and Crawford; but their designe was Lockhart and the Remonstrators interest. My Lord Lie, Sir John Cheislie, Sir George Maxwell, my Lord Stairs, Mr Gillespie, and others, were said to be the contrivers. They laboured to have had Selkirk and Cassilis with them, but this was soon crushed by Monck and Morgan; for they were informed of their inclination to Lambert more than to them".(53)

Baillie - who had been depressed by the failure of Sir George Booth's rising in August 1659(54) - was terrified

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(51) Glasgow Records, II, 430-431.

(52) Ibid., 431.

(53) Baillie, III, 446.

(54) Ibid., 437.

lest Monck be defeated by Lambert, "as they say it was their purpose, designing the chief of our nobles and ministers for the scaffold, and many ministers for Jamaica, whereof I heard myself was one".(55) But Monck and Haselrig prevailed for the Parliament(56) and kept Baillie safe in Glasgow.

Gillespie quickly adjusted to Monck's ascendancy, petitioning him to work for confirmation of the College's 'former gifts' in Parliament. William Thomson was assisting in his schemes according to Baillie,(57) and the conservative group in Glasgow were thoroughly suspicious of Thomson. In May 1660, their Commissioner to the Convention of Burghs James Campbell, was instructed to seek the recall of Thomson's commission to represent the Burghs in London.(58) They were unduly alarmed for by now Thomson was working eagerly to secure his and their interests at the court-in-exile. He travelled to Breda on his own initiative, presenting Charles with a very welcome 'puir mite of ane thousand punds' (sterling) (59) from burgh funds. This gilded the path to his knighthood after the Restoration.

As 'Restoration fever' mounted in Scotland,(60)

(55) Ibid., 439.

(56) That is, the Rump Parliament, re-restored by Monck after the defeat of Lambert's faction.

(57) Baillie, III, 388-9.

(58) Glasgow Records, II, 431.

(59) Edinburgh Records, 1655-65, 199-200.

(60) The Scots may well have anticipated the Restoration before the English - they had been in closer contact with the inscrutable Monck, and had appointed Monck's royalist relative, Dr Thomas Clarges, as a second London agent for the Convention of Burghs, on 4 February 1660. (See Convention Records, III, 499) However, as with the counter-Revolution of 1688-9, they did little to implement the Restoration.

Glasgow made sure of keeping abreast of developments by commissioning John Nicoll and William Roe to provide bulletins from Edinburgh, whilst they continued to receive a 'Diurnall' from London, probably again through Nicoll.(61) Unfortunately the Burgh Records give little indication of opinion in Glasgow prior to the Restoration, but on 15 May 1660, three days after Charles' proclamation at Edinburgh, the care of all things relating to the change in government were entrusted to Provost Bell and his officers. Bell was appointed 'soll actour' in the producing of 'ane addres and supplicatioune ... to the King's most excellent Majestie'(62) - a task to which he was ideally suited. A second Proclamation of the Restoration was made on 18 June, with 'baill fyres' and 'twa hodgheidis of wyne' for the local troops.(63)

With the change of government came the great reckoning. The Provost naturally took his place in the new Committee of Estates set up in August,(63A) but there were to be no earthly rewards for the Protesters. The radical ministers had been unimpressed by the return of Charles Stewart. Baillie regretted their obstinacy:

'I have heard some of them preach these last three Sundays, bot not a word tending to any thanks, or any joye, for the King's returne; albeit they have some prayers for him. Their studie is to fill the people with fears of Bishops, Books, destroying of the Covenant, setting up of profanitie; and heir upon presses privie meetings, as in a tyme most necessar'.(64)

Alas for Baillie the time was indeed to be 'necessar', and

(61) Glasgow Records, II, 435-6; 444; Baillie III, 429.

(62) Glasgow Records, II, 443-45.

(63) Ibid., 447.

(63A) Bell was nominated to the Committee of Estates 'be the King's Majestie himself.' Ibid., 449.

(64) Baillie, III, 404.

the Protester prophecies were to be pretty close to the mark. Sir James Stewart saw the danger only too well. His addresses to the King on behalf of the burghs, whilst enthusiastically congratulating Charles on 'this great and comfortable revolution' (65) which had restored him, implored the King to become 'ane nursing father to the trew religion as it is established amongst us'. (66) However William Thomson, knowing better how the wind blew at Court, held back these addresses. (67) By 12 July 1660, Sir James' suspicions were aroused - he told Thomson:

'It is strange to ws, if anything could be thought strange in the age we leive in, that any sould offer to be striving to bring wmdir censur (such) as did bear office in the burrowis to prevent utter confusione and desolatione considdering how many in cuntrie and burghis heir wer driven to act upon such necessitie, the quarreling now by the good example of England might ... have bein past in silence as better service both to Kirk and Kingdomes ...' (68)

Next day Stewart was confined to Edinburgh Castle 'by his Majesteis speciall ordoris'. Sir John Cheisly was also detained. (69) Wariston escaped, to be taken in France in January 1663. (70) With great courage and obstinacy the Protesters gathered to prepare another address to the King, but on 23 August 1660, Guthrie and ten others were apprehended in Edinburgh. (71) The witch hunt gathered

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(65) Convention Records, III, 505-6.

(66) Ibid., 508.

(67) Ibid., 512. Thomson was after all a former Engager, deposed from the Clerkship for that affinity in 1648. This act was revoked, along with all acts encroaching on the royal prerogative, by Edinburgh Council in August 1661. (See Edinburgh Records, 1655-65, 251)

(68) Convention Records, III, 512.

(69) Nicoll, Diary, p.295.

(70) Ibid., p.389.

(71) Ibid., p.298.

force as the Estates continued their 'examination and censuring of Remonstratoris and Protestatoris.' On 14 September, John Spreule and John Grahame, defiant as ever, were committed to Edinburgh Tolbooth for refusing to renounce the Remonstrances.(72) Next day Gillespie was sent to Stirling Castle,(73) but his main efforts were to go towards saving his person and career, abandoning principle. John Bell must have felt some satisfaction as he sat in the Estates, taking a leaf from Gillespie's book, by procuring a warrant for 'payment of the expennsis the toune had deburst in apprehending Mr Patrick Gillespie and Mr Simpson.'(74) On 19 September, Sir George Maxwell of Pollok signed a Declaration disclaiming the Remonstrance and declaring himself free from accession to the book entitled 'the causes of God's wrath'.(74A)

As the election of October 1660 approached, John Bell's group were supreme in Glasgow. On 20 September the Council received instructions from Glencairn, the new Chancellor, via the Convention of Burghs. All persons connected with the 'Remonstrance or associatiounes ... or protested against any publict

(72) Ibid., p.300; John Spreule, op.cit., p.16.

(73) Nicoll, Diary, p.300.

(74) Glasgow Records, II, 450.

(74A) S.R.O., PA 7/8/47.

judicatories their determinatioune ... or indeavoured by factioune or seditioune to the disturbance of his Majesties peace ...' were to be barred from 'any place of magistracy, counsell or ... deaconrie within any burgh.' (75) Immediately the magistrates took advantage of the situation to go further and proscribe the radicals in the Glasgow crafts, instructing the Bailies to check with the deacons and 'such of the craftis men as they think best ... informed ..., and to lay asyd out of every craft all persones they conceave to fall under the compas of the

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(75) Convention Records, III, 532-3; Glasgow Records, II, 449-50.

said act'.(76) The proscribed were to lose their votes in craft elections - or of course Council elections if they were standing Councillors. Noticeably the merchant ranks were not subjected to scrutiny, for they had purged themselves years ago. Thomas Allane, the last link with Porterfield's merchant councillors, loses his place now.

Glencairn also suggested that Glasgow could show its affection to the King's service by ensuring that 'theis magistrates that wer most unjustlie thrust from their places in anno 1648 may be made use of as magistratis for the year enshewing'.(77) This ultimate triumph of the Engagers was limited, for of the officers in question, James Trane was dead; William Neilson excused on account of age and infirmity, and John Anderson, elder, ineligible as Bailie as he had since held the Provostship. In the end only Colin Campbell returned, albeit as Provost. John Bell had just completed his maximum of two consecutive terms as Provost,(78) so this arrangement suited him admirably. Of the new Bailies, John Walkinshaw, James Barnes, and John Ker, only Barnes had been on the Engagement Council, but the others were sympathisers. All told, eight 'Engagers' were returned to Council and office - the same number as in the previous election - but Glasgow was safe for the King, as the Engagers' successors and allies were royalist to the core by a process of natural selection

(76) Glasgow Records, II, 450.

(77) Ibid.

(78) Ibid., 452. The burgesses dutifully went to the Castle of Glasgow to accept Lennox nominations, but this formality was unnecessary - the Castle gate remained 'closit, efter thrie knockis', so they trooped off in triumph.

carried out long before the Restoration.

The new Council lost no time in tormenting the Protesters. On 6 October 1660 George Porterfield was charged with misappropriation of a collection gathered for the oppressed Christians of Poland and Bohemia - apparently he had lent part of this fund to John Grahame, and none had reached the Christians as yet. Porterfield readily surrendered the rest of the money, and produced Grahame's receipt. The magistrates rather smugly devoted it to 'pious uses' at home, aiding the College, Bo'ness and Crail. (79) No serious steps were taken against the Porterfieldians after their release from Edinburgh Tolbooth - where they had eventually renounced the Remonstrance under duress<sup>(79A)</sup> - but they were pestered until they retreated to Holland some time prior to 1664.

Guthrie, Wariston and Argyle were to pay the ultimate penalty - Argyle's conviction on evidence of collaboration with the Protectorate supplied by its chief officer in Scotland, Monck, typifies the hypocrisy and double-dealing surrounding the Restoration. Gillespie's influence at Court, through his wife's relative, Lord Sinclair, helped save him. (80) There were no bounds to his ambition and intrigues. In a letter from Sharp to Robert Douglas reference is made to Gillespie's inquiries as to 'what length his Majesty would have him to go as to the bringing in of episcopacy into Scotland'. (81) This offer was

(79) Glasgow Records, II, 450. (79A). See Baillie III, 448.

(80) J. M'Ure, op.cit., p.188.

(81) Quoted in James Kirkton, The secret ... history of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to 1678, (Edinburgh, 1817), p.111 (F.N.)  
(Henceforth Kirkton, History)

ignored, but he did succeed in gaining some instalments of his Principal's salary to cover his losses in prison, before retiring into obscurity and isolation.(82)

Thus by late 1660 the first stage of the Reaction in Glasgow was almost complete. The return of the Archbishops was yet to come, as an anachronistic blow to burgh independence. All the efforts of radicals to take over control of burgh and Kirk were at nought. The struggle since March 1652 had been dominated by Gillespie to the exclusion of the group leadership of the period 1645-1652, yet he had done far less for the burgh. His only practical gains were in the fine re-building of the College. His faction's prolonged offensive failed to recapture civic power, thus they had no opportunity to display a concept of government, with the possible exception of their fairly negative efforts to maintain Poor rates. Kirk affairs had been an endless squabble between the parties.

In fact the most fascinating aspect of Glasgow politics during the Cromwellian Union and its aftermath is the resilience of established patrician interests. People like the Bells, Campbells and Andersons recaptured control of the Council in March 1652, and reacted against the costly innovations of the Porterfield Kirk Party. They carried out a thorough retrenchment. They survived the advance of the Protesters in Presbytery, College and Government circles, defeating Gillespie's 'utmost endeavours'

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(82) V.Infra, p.202.

to control Council elections, to enjoy the support of the Court Party as the Protectorate sought to broaden its appeal. By late 1658 they were able to emerge from their power-base in the Council to contest Gillespie's stranglehold on patronage in Kirk and College. There was no need for an extensive Restoration purge of the Glasgow Council in October 1660, because the King's friends were already there.

All told, moderate and conservative interests in Glasgow did quite well out of the Cromwellian Union - the English helped them back into power in March 1652, and resisted Protector attempts to proscribe them as 'Engagers' and malignants. The stops on burgh elections in 1653-4 and 1657 in no way hampered conservative control for they remained in office unchallenged. Financially, the high costs of the military, billeting and the assessment, were unwelcome, but there were impartial channels of review, which responded to emergencies such as the Fire.

In national terms, the English Connection had clipped the wings of established interests in the Nobility, Kirk and Law. Yet the Scottish burghs gave the Union a grudging acceptance - the Protectorate was respected if nothing else. After all their Convention was the only Scottish institution in operation after the demise of Parliament and the General Assembly - probably because it was a practical, harmless body. It continually pressed the Government for redress of economic ills and full free trade with England. In August 1656 its demands included reduction of the assessment; a more plentiful supply of specie; free export of key commodities such as wool, salt,

hides, and tallow, presently under embargo; control of ex-soldiers entering trades freely, and assistance in recovering burgh debts.(83) Unfortunately a list of policies in March 1659 is very similar reflecting little progress.(84)

The issue of burgh debts was particularly relevant in Glasgow, where Argyle, the Duchess of Hamilton and the Earl of Hartfield owed great sums. But the Government did not want to further alienate the nobility in Scotland and the Burghs received no satisfaction. The issue effectively sabotaged joint-discussions between burghs and shires to prepare a petition to Monck early in 1660 when fundamentals such as a revival of the Union were being considered.(85) The return of the Rump in May 1659 had negated the Cromwellian constitutional settlement, and although a new Bill of Union had reached its third reading, Lambert's expulsion of the Rump again in October curtailed progress. The desire for Union despite the unfavourable terms of trade previously experienced, shows that the Burghs at least appreciated its potential. But the interests of burgh debtors and noble creditors were incompatible - the burghs insisted on a favourable reform of the law relating to debt, and the joint petition to Parliament foundered.(86) By coincidence, Glasgow's

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(83) Convention Records, III, 428-9.

(84) Ibid., 483.

(85) Convention Records, III, 493. The Union question was dutifully raised by Monck in the Rump, but submerged in its final decline and fall. There were no Scottish members in the Convention which brought back Charles II, and the 'old institutions' of Scotland returned at the Restoration Settlement.

(86) Ibid., 496-99. The issue of debts was settled in 1662, to the nobility's advantage, with repayment by instalments. V.Infra, pp.207-8.

debtor, Hartfield, was a shire negotiator. (87)

Indeed the nobles and shire interests went on to attack the burgh interests. In an independent petition of the Burghs to Monck, presented by William Thomson, they claimed that:

'amongst wtheris incroachments frome the nobilitie and gentrye wpon the burrowis they intend to tak some strang cours quhairby all burgessis be debarred from haveing any voyce in the electioun of commissioners or any publict business meerlie because they ar burgessis, though free heritouris in the severall countieis of the natioune'. (88)

This would stop any support from burgesses (with shire property in shire elections) for radicals such as Sir George Maxwell of Pollok in Renfrewshire.

The nobility were flexing their muscles, anticipating a return to power with the return of the King, after twelve years in the Wilderness. Certainly the considerable influence exerted by relatively humble burgesses like George Porterfield in the Estates of 1649-50 was not to be repeated in the foreseeable future - as even John Bell found after initial prominence in the Restoration Parliaments. (89)

Although the rule of the Commonwealth and Protectorate was constructive, and provided relative stability between extremes, the Restoration came as a great relief to all in Scotland who were appalled by the licence allowed Protesters, and even sectarians, since 1652. In the confused year of 1659 Nicoll refers to the dreaded Quakers

(87) John Bell approached the Earl of Hartfield about Glasgow's debts and dues immediately he attended the Estates in August 1660. See Glasgow Records, II, 450.

(88) Convention Records, III, 502.

(89) V. Infra, pp. 205-8.

who 'aboundit and drew thameselfiss in companyis throw the cuntrie without controlment, haiffing libertie so to do, and to resist their opposites'.(90) On 27 July 1659 the Independent congregations petitioned the Rump for protection against Presbyterian exclusivists under the proposed Bill of Union.(91) But Baillie could not conceive of society without order, hierachy and religious discipline - what would happen if

'Every Quaker, every Anabaptist, every Papist, be not only convinced within, but brought to professe without, the justice of the sentence pronounced by the Judicatories against them? This extravagancie cuts the sinews of all government ever was, is, or can be imagined: It makes every erroneous person the supreme judge on earth to himself of all questions, without any subjection to any power ... though contrare to scripture and reason'.(92)

There were moreover the practicalities of coping with the delicious freedom of sectarianism - what happens when the sectarians leave the sects? - 'Must all order give place to confusion for ever?'(93) Baillie's solution to the crisis of discipline was of course a General Assembly(94) - as it was the Bishops had to cope, working through synod and presbytery. There was no room for a Rhode Island in Scotland.

Well, the judicatories came back with a vengeance after 1660, but they were not Presbyterian, and Baillie's dear 'ecclesiastick liberties' received a severer shock than

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(90) Nicoll, Diary, p.250.

(91) C.S. Terry, History of Scotland, pp.414-5.

(92) Baillie, III, 378.

(93) Ibid., 379.

(94) Ibid., 395.

Gillespie had ever planned for them. This was all despite the sophistry of the King's deceptively reassuring letter to the Edinburgh Presbytery in August 1660, asserting that a settlement would be made according to Law. Even Baillie, that faithful King's friend, who considered that Charles was 'giving hudge satisfaction to all', (95) was concerned when he saw the discomfiture of the English Presbyterians. In June 1660 he was assuring Lauderdale:

'It's a scorne to tell us of moderat  
Episcopacy, a moderat Papacy! the  
world knows that Bishops and Popes  
could never keep caveats!' (96)

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(95) Ibid., 442.

(96) Ibid., 406.

**"The Politics and Society of Glasgow: 1648-1674"**

**Part three: Restoration Glasgow, 1660-74**

**Chapter VI 'The faithful city turned an Harlot!':  
the Restoration Settlement in Glasgow,  
1660-63**

'The glory of a begun Reformation in manners is eclipsed and an inundation of profanity come in ... How hath the faithful city turned an Harlot!' - Robert McWard, Sermon of February 1661, quoted Wodrow, History, I, 206-7



With the formal recognition of their ascendancy in the elections of October 1660, the dominant clique of conservatives and moderates in Glasgow politics could look forward to a season of uninhibited power, with their enemies proscribed and scattered. Their Resolutioner allies in the Kirk, with understandable myopia, saw no reason why the Government should not smile upon them, although events in England were already clouding the horizon. In retrospect Baillie wrote to William Spang

'Our Kirk, all the English tymes, had been very faithful to our King, and so instrumentall as we could for his restitution. We had lost much blood at Dunbar, Worcester and elsewhere, and at last our libertie in his cause. We did firmly expect at his Restitution, a comfortable subsistence to ourselves, and all our Presbyterian brethren, in all the dominions ...'.(1)

The gradual confounding of such expectations over the sixteen months following the Restoration demoralised Baillie's group, but the Glasgow burgh politicians enjoyed a slightly more extended honeymoon period, which only definitely closed with the arrival of Archbishop Alexander Burnet to the See in April 1664. Burnet's zeal for his order inevitably led to clashes with the local elite who had to resume the long struggle to defend the mutual interests of council liberties and their own power base. However when the activities of Burnet and his friends in the 'Holy Alliance' of Bishops, Government leaders and military men alienated the Covenanters to dissidence and rebellion, the Archbishop could still count on support from the extreme right in Glasgow - even though

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(1) Baillie to Spang, 12 May 1662, Baillie, III, 484.

he had dismissed them from office between 1664 and 1669 to secure local hegemony himself.

The most interesting development in burgh politics during the first decade of the Restoration is the split between leading establishment families over the pretensions of the Bell-Campbell clique. By 1661 Baillie felt that although

'... our Towne and Colledge all has been quiet this year ... The Toune now is absolutlie guided by the Bells and Campbells alone. They guide indeed weell, but keeping the government among themself almost alone: I feare ere long it causes new trouble among us ...'.(2)

Baillie himself took exception to John Bell, his old ally, before his death in the autumn of 1662, and the struggle between Bell and William Anderson's group was to achieve epic proportions between 1660 and 1674.

The established burgh sport of persecuting fallen foes reached its apotheosis after the Restoration - although the Covenanters did their best to redress the balance after 1688. Following up their harrying of Grahame and Porterfield in October 1660, the Council exiled James Porter, clerk of Presbytery 'aff this burgh the haille boundis of ten myles'(3) on 23 February 1661. Porter had been persistently malicious, helping Gillespie draw up libels against the local Engagers in 1656. His office was given over to William Anderson, elder, who disgraced himself by corruptly tampering with the Minutes to aid local recusants in 1667.(4) Gillespie himself had one

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(2) Baillie to Spang? August? 1661. Ibid., 471-2.

(3) Glasgow Records, II, 458-60.

(4) V. Infra, p.322.

last fling before retiring into obscurity and decline. Working through his contacts in Parliament, he secured an Act for arrears of his Principal's salary to defray the costs of his imprisonment and future subsistence - Baillie claims that most of the 'arrears' came within his own term.(5) Gillespie finally settled for a compromise award in early 1664, and according to Anderson, spent his last years in dissipation dying at Leith in 1675, aged 58.(6) A more charitable view of Gillespie than is usual in Baillie was recorded during his trial on 6 March 1661 by 'Mercurius Caledonius':

'Mr Gillespie ... had a handsome discourse ... relating to a Vindication. It is a great pitty that this man should ever have been ensnared in mistakes: for he is a generous and publick spirit'd Soul, witness his great emprovement of the University of Glasgow, both by the enlargement of the fabrick and encreasing of the burser-ships ... And if there be merit in the Fanaticks of either kinde, this man hath the greatest share'.(7)

Perhaps, but Gillespie was basically a careerist - his fanaticism was only skin-deep, to be shed at the glimpse of a bishopric.(8) His convolutions suffer badly in comparison with Guthrie's steadfastness. Guthrie told the spectators at his execution in Edinburgh on 1 June 1661

(5) Baillie, III, 479; A.P.S., VII, 334.

(6) Anderson, Provosts, p.29. Sir John Maxwell of Pollok seems to have attended to Gillespie's affairs, for on 25 September 1677 he 'delivered 22 boxes of Mr Gilespie's books to Ja. Oswald merc in Edbr' - presumably to pay off Gillespie's creditors - this shows the continuity of association amongst those of the 'Cause'. S.R.A., T-PM 114/6, Pollok Maxwell Papers (under date - unfoliated).

(7) Quoted by Baillie's editor, R. Laing, in Baillie, III, 475, F.N.3.

(8) V.Supra, p.192.

'I am come hither to lay down this earthly tabernacle and mortal flesh of mine; and I bless God I do it willingly, and not by constraint ... if I had been otherwise minded I might have made a diversion and not been a prisoner, but ... I would not stain my conscience with the suspicion of guiltiness by my withdrawing'.(9)

He was consistent to the end, rejecting compliance with sectaries and papists, upholding the Covenants, and yet denying 'designs or practices against his Majesties person or Government, or the person or government of his Royal Father'. This 'loyalty' when Guthrie had nothing to lose finally rejects Broghill's accusation of republicanism. Yet Guthrie also reveals those principles which were to cause so much strife and bloodshed in the generation to come - he could never 'acknowledg the civil magistrate to be the competent Judge in matters Ecclesiastical'(10) and he pointed the martyr's way.

'Beware of Snares, which are strowed thick; Cleave unto the Covenant, and work of Reformation; Do not decline the Cross of Christ; Chuse rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, then to enjoy the pleasure of sin for a season; and account the reproaches of the Lord greater riches then all the Treasures of Aegypt'.(11)

Guthrie's way was to be followed by the moderate Covenanters in years to come - the extremist Cameronians were to abandon his 'loyalty' to the Stewarts.

Meanwhile John Spreule's reckoning was approaching. On 5 October he was ordered to appear before the Magistrates

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- (9) The true and perfect speech of Mr James Guthrey late minister of Sterling, as it was delivered ... before his execution, on June 1, 1661, at Edinbrough (Edinburgh, 1661), p.3. Contained in a pamphlet collection Tryals for Treason held in Glasgow University Library (Special Collections Bf 72, e.6.)
- (10) Ibid., p.7. For Broghill's accusations, V.Supra, p.142.
- (11) Ibid., p.12.

with his tack of office and warded in the Tolbooth till he cooperated. When he did appear with his papers on 12 October, the magistrates recited his sins gleefully:

'Mr John Spreule had most malitously  
compeired (contrair his dewtie as clerk  
of this burgh) with Mr Gillespie publictie  
in judgment against the magistratis ...  
and divers honest men who had borne office  
as magistratis ..., to the perill of their  
lyfes'.(12)

He had humiliated the burgh by bringing its records under the scrutiny of the 'lait usurpers ... the lyke quherof was never done of befor' - although in fact the 'lyke' had been done in May 1651 when the malignant Committee of the Communalty submitted records to the Estates.(13) Finally he had been the 'main stickler' in causing faction among the crafts in 1658-9, 'whereby mony contemptis was offered by them to the magistratis'.(14) Spreule lost his gift of office, and had to return all fees or remain in the Tolbooth.

Little more is heard of the lay radicals in the burgh until Middleton's list of exceptions to the Act of Indemnity in September 1662, which contains an interesting roll of past and future dissenters. George Porterfield was fined £3000; John Spreule £1200; John Grahame £1000, and Mathew Cumming, William Coutts, James Elphinstone, James Gray, John Johnston, John Nimmo, Thomas Patterson and Mathew Wilson were also penalised.(15) All of these men, apart from Nimmo, had been on Porterfield's Councils -

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(12) Glasgow Records, II, 472.

(13) Ibid., 208; V.Supra, p. 23.

(14) Glasgow Records, II, 472-3; John Spreule, Some Remarkable Passages ..., p.18.

(15) A.P.S., VII, 422-3.

but not those of the malignants. Patterson died after Pentland, (16) and Johnston managed to find his way back into office in 1665. (17) Porterfield and Spreule, together with Thomas Campbell and Humphrey Calhoun of Glasgow and Sir George Maxwell of Pollok were also in the group fined a total of £2000 sterling on 6 June 1662 for burning the gates of the Earl of Queensbury's place at Drumlanrig in 1650. (18) Campbell was on Porterfield's Councils, and Humphrey Calhoun was another Pentland 'Martyr'. Johnston and Patterson had been forced to renounce the Remonstrance with the Porterfield trio in 1660.

At the other end of the political spectrum John Bell was making efforts in national and local affairs worthy of Patrick Gillespie at his peak. As burgh commissioner to the Parliament between 1661 and 1663, Bell was in excellent company, for the Chancellor, Glencairn, 'had ... guided it that the shires and burroughs should choose none but these that were absolutely for the King. Diverse were cited to the Parliament that they might not be members'. (19) Bell was on the first sederunt of the restored Committee of the Articles (20) - although it must be said that with the return of this institution, where the nobility were soon to be bolstered by the Government's new fleet of clients, the

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(16) V. Infra, p. 274.

(17) V. Infra, p. 253.

(18) William Fraser, Memoirs of Maxwells of Pollok, I, 68-9; A.P.S., VII, 375.

(19) Baillie, III, 463.

(20) A.P.S., VII, 8-9. The Bishops came back at the beginning of the Second Session on 8 May 1662. The old system of election, whereby the first two Estates elected the third in camera, returned in the third session, on 18 June 1663. A.P.S., VII, 371; 448.

bishops, there was far less scope for burgesses in legislation than there had been under the Kirk Party. The return of the Privy Council added to this restoration of privilege - particularly when the *Parliament* was not in session, as between 1663 and 1669.

Indeed Bell's initial success was mainly personal - he was in everything, from a committee investigating the losses of royalists during the late troubles to the Commission for the Plantation of Kirks and Valuation of Teinds set up on March 1661.(21) He was also in a select group investigating damaged writs and deeds pertaining to Lord Secretary Lauderdale in April 1661(22) - which could have forwarded his career until he chose the wrong side in the Indemnity Conspiracy in March 1663.(23) But his efforts for Glasgow met with a lukewarm reception. On the first day of the new Parliament he submitted a claim for Glasgow's elevation in the roll of precedence of burghs, but this had no effect for the town was still eighth in the next roll.(24) This must have been all the more frustrating when Glasgow was rated highly in the tax roll, with excise at a nineteenth part of the national levy(25) - a recognition of the burgh's rising prosperity and population despite the Fire and the late Troubles.

Again, when Bell boldly sent in his Council's instructions and

'bill to the parliament for repayment of the  
twentie thousand pund payit of fyne quhen

(21) A.P.S., VII, 345; 348.

(22) A.P.S., VII, 135.

(23) V. Infra, p.216.

(24) A.P.S., VII, 6; 5; 369.

(25) Baillie, III, 469.

Muntrois com heir (complaining) wpon the wrong done then be George Porterfield ... and his counsell, anent the expennis and burdines that thrie scoir twelwe honest men wer drawine to, wnder the notioune of malignantis be quartering wpon them without warrand', (26)

the Parliament did not seem ready to accept responsibility for the aberrations of their 'unlawful' predecessors. Indeed they were soon charging Glasgow for arrears of assessment due between 1648 and 1651, although the magistrates evaded this very neatly by deciding, on 25 November 1661, to stent 'wtheris' for the arrears - the stent to be conducted by 'als many of the thrie scoir twelwe was formerlie stented for outputing of some hors troups'. (27) In effect the persons charged to support the Western Association after the Engagement were now enjoying their revenge. A further bonus to former Engagers came in an Act of 7 August 1662 which compensated those charged with the whole burden of assessment by the Kirk Party in 1648-9 - they were now freed of taxation whilst their former persecutors paid a double-share. (28)

But when it came to the settlement of the debtor-creditor controversy between nobles and burghs, which had festered throughout the Interregnum, the burghs found it difficult to achieve their ends of full, prompt payment. On the contrary, the creditors were given six years' grace to repay by instalment all debts above £1000 contracted

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(26) Glasgow Records, II, 461.

(27) Glasgow Records, II, 476-7. In consideration of the damage done by the English forces between 1650-2, Glasgow also received an exemption of three parts of the arrears of assessment on 12 July 1661. A.P.S., VII, 326.

(28) A.P.S., VII, 387-8.

before Whitsun 1658.(29) This reflects the triumph of the nobility and the relative decline of burgh influence after the Restoration referred to above. Bell did have some success in reducing the burgh's excise assessment. The Excise had been re-organised in March 1661 to provide the crown with an annuity of £40,000 sterling for the upkeep of the forces and government. Glasgow's initial share was £1744 4s. Od. sterling yearly. In September 1662, Parliament gave relief to various shires and burghs, and Glasgow's contribution was reduced by £588 sterling. A further reduction in September 1663 fixed Glasgow's rate at £1070 4s. Od. sterling.(30) In January 1663 Bell obtained the excise of all ale, beer and whisky produced in Gorbals and Govan from Lanarkshire, and 'Claud Paul, officer (had) to mak the strictest search he can all maner of way for trying out of the malt brought to the Gorballes to be broune'.(31)

Domestic affairs under the Bell-Campbell group - and indeed under their Anderson successors - showed a predictable pattern of control by progressive conservatism. There was to be no serious competition from radical interests in civic matters. With their prestige high and a new mandate from the Government, the burgh leaders soon set about tightening discipline and ordering their society. On 23 October they were aided by the departure of the regiment quartered on the town for much of the Interregnum - the

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(29) A.P.S., VII, 317; Baillie, III, 469.

(30) A.P.S., VII, 88-9; 418; 469.

(31) Glasgow Records, III, 2-4. This Claud Paul was probably the man persecuted by the Engagers in 1648. V.Supra, p.39

~~Parliament~~ had petitioned Charles II for the removal of English troops from Scotland and their replacement by Scots, (32) and indeed much of the old army was disbanded, although it was not long before James Turner brought the rump back to cope with rising tension in the South-West. The 'Cromwellian' soldiers left debts, and the magistrates offered loans from the excise to help them pay. On 27 October James Turner was sent to Edinburgh to start proceedings for recovery of the debts. (33)

After the soldiers' departure a campaign against prostitutes was initiated on 5 January 1661, when censors were appointed to discover the numbers of 'new intrantis and orray weomen as of lait the toun is overburdeined and pestered with strangers and beggars'. (34) On 24 December example had been made of a poor beggar called Douglas, who was 'brunt on the cheik' and banished the town on pain of scourging through the streets on his return, as he was 'knoune to be ane idle vagabound without any lauffull calling'. (35)

The problem of the itinerant poor was never-ending. Obviously the burgh wanted to rid itself of 'stranger' beggars, who were a source of mischief and expense, confining its charity to its own - although it could be a problem isolating its 'own'. Ideally the merchants and crafts would maintain their brethren in the Hospitals, whilst independent hospitals (such as the lepers' in Gorbals)

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(32) The Lauderdale Papers, 1639-79, ed. O. Airy, (Camden Soc; London, 1884-5) I, 33. (Henceforth The Lauderdale Papers).

(33) Glasgow Records, II, 454.

(34) Glasgow Records, II, 457.

(35) Ibid., 456.

and the magistrates and kirk sessions covered exceptional cases. But the realities demanded wider measures. Previous administrations had attempted more comprehensive public indoor relief and work programmes - the Porterfieldians had been particularly keen on such measures(36) - and the Restoration Government did indeed pass extensive empowering legislation in 1663 and 1672 for workhouses and indoor relief.(37) Yet this legislation was ignored, particularly in Glasgow,(38) where the Council eventually fell back on licensed 'private-enterprise' begging.(39)

Although the Kirk was in turmoil, short of staff

- (36) V.Supra, p.91.
- (37) See R. Mitchison, 'The making of the old Scottish Poor Law', Past and Present, lxiii, May 1974, 58-93.
- (38) However the old Pickersgill cloth mill still seems to have been in operation in 1669 when his lease was renewed for seven years (V.Infra, p.323) This operation may have formed a base for the more ambitious schemes of the Armour, John Corse and Robert Burne in the 1680's. These entrepreneurs stressed the work available to 'servants' from near and far in their application to Privy Council for privilege under the Manufactories Act (R.P.C. Scot., 3rd sec, VII, 597-8) but they were essentially business ventures, not relief programmes. The spirit of such entrepreneurs is well reflected in a pamphlet of the Newmilnes clothiers, who paid a 'vast number of poor folk' by piecework in interests of efficiency and profit, and looked eagerly towards Aberdeen for expansion - 'about which place the Commons are verie ingenious, and can live very cheap' - A Representation of the Advantages ... of Manufactories especially of Wollen-cloath, (Edinburgh, 1683) pp.8; 23. Smout however refers to the difficulties that James Armour of Glasgow experienced trying to export cloth to the Netherlands - T.C. Smout, Scottish Trade on the eve of the Union, 1660-1707, (Edinburgh, 1963), p.110. Glasgow quality was not yet high enough.
- (39) V.Infra, p.322.

and struggling to find its feet, a special 'Kirk sessioun' (39A) must have convened by August 1662 (the official minutes for the Presbytery recommence in June 1663) for the Moderator put forward an appeal for social reform. He saw three immediate problems - the poor, morality and church administrative costs, and sought to deal with them at a stroke, explaining to the magistrates

'the greate burdine that lyes on them in provyding for the poor, who are verie numerous and incresses daylie, and for provyding of sielles to their officers and publict servandis, quhilk they are not able to doe and perform vnless it wold pleas the counsell to appoynt that the penalties of all skandelous persones, and monye gottin for through stones and buriell places, might be given over to them.' (40)

The Council agreed to allow them to 'wplift and haill penalties dew to be payit be all furnicatouris, and wther such scandelous persones in the lyke.' They received the burial fees and were given power to 'call such persones to ane compt wha hes bein formerlie neglectit be the justices of peace.' (41) This wide franchise awarded Presbytery helps explain why they were so zealous in bringing 'furnicatouris' and other

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(39A) This is referred to as the 'Kirk sessioun' of this burgh' - an odd term, as there were ordinarily sessions for all the burgh kirks. It is just possible that a Presbytery was in existence. The term 'session', apparently for Presbytery, was used once by Baillie (Baillie, III, 394-5)

(40) Glasgow Records, II, 490-1.

(41) Ibid.

offenders to heel, rivalling the efforts of the Kirk Party. However the Council expressly ruled that no distributions of relief be made to the poor without their sanction.

Matters continued to deteriorate, by next month there was a

'great outcry made throw the haill toune be the poor, for want of the distributioun formerlie payit to them, quhilk is brought to pass throw the slak and not tymeous payment of the contributiounne.'(42)

Two merchant officers were appointed to collect the dues and imprison defaulters, at a salary of £4 weekly. Yet in October people were steadfastly avoiding Kirk and collections. The Council tried ruling that absentees would be charged extra in the monthly assessment, to no

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(42) Glasgow Records, II, 492.

avail.(43) By March 1663, the poor were as numerous as ever, and the kirk contributions sadly deficient, despite every effort including the impounding of forefaulters 'potis, pannes, stoups and wther their household geir' until they complained 'they have nothing to pay and have need of contributioune themselfes'.(44) The Presbytery again petitioned the Council who grudgingly allocated £20 sterling monthly towards poor relief - after organising the usual purge of 'strainger' beggars.(45) They ruled out further concessions, although they did pay James Frank 'for drogs, plaisters' and medical care for selected poor.(46) In effect the widespread dissatisfaction with the new Church settlement was hindering charity - just as the Protester-Resolutioner conflict had done a decade before.(47)

Although the burgh's influence in national affairs had declined in comparison with Porterfield's hey-day, the ambitions of the Bellites for Glasgow could not be contained for very long. In a minor flurry of imperialism they set about increasing the burgh's domain. A formal annexation of Gorbals was initiated by Act of Parliament in May 1661(48) - the Gorbals teinds had been purchased for a consortium of burgh interests by George Porterfield between 1648 and 1650, at a rate which alarmed the burgh establishment.(49) However the current initiative misfired

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(43) Ibid.

(44) Ibid., III, 7-9.

(45) Ibid.

(46) Ibid., 16.

(47) V.Supra, p.120.

(48) A.P.S., VII, 222-3.

(49) V.Supra, p.113, FN.12.

when the Council presumed too extravagantly on the privileges of the feuars: not only had the Act made them liable for stents and dues in Glasgow and Lanarkshire, but on 5 October 1661 Glasgow Council decided that Gorbals no longer needed its own bailies(50) (under Porterfield's settlement one bailie was elected locally, and the other by Glasgow). Naturally Gorbals appealed to the Privy Council, and after arbitration it was decided that Gorbals should not pay dues to Glasgow until they were free of shire burdens. The district was permitted one bailie, but he was to be elected by Glasgow Council. The magistrates gained another sop to their pride by making the Gorbals representatives

'being vassells and tyed be many obligations to the magistrates and councell of Glasgow, our superiores, acknouledge our rashnes in giveing in any complaint before all endeavoures had been used at home for remedie and redres'.(51)

The burgh was also involved in a prolonged action with Sir Robert Hamilton of Silvertonhill (near Hamilton) over the lands of Provan, because the laird could not pay his dues. The litigation illustrates both the ruthless business tactics of the burgesses and the laird's tenacity in defence of his patrimony. The burgh eventually bought the lands in 1677.(52) It was a simpler matter for the magistrates to take over the lands of Linenshaugh (part of the 'New' or present Green), for these were sold by William Anderson of Stobcross, a future Provost, for six

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(50) Glasgow Records, II, 470.

(51) Ibid., 478-9 (F.N.)

(52) Ibid., II, 481; 491; III, 9; 95.

thousand merks on 1 January 1662.(53) But the most significant enterprise was the development of the burgh's port facilities to stimulate the Atlantic trade. The conflict with Dumbarton over control of the river (litigation was still in progress) encouraged the magistrates to set up a new outport, below the bars and shoals of the Upper Clyde. Negotiations with the Laird of Kilburnie for land near Greenock started in February 1662. In August the improvement of local facilities for river craft started with the decision to build 'ane little key ... at the Broomelaw'.(54)

However the Bellite imperium received a potential set-back with the re-establishment of episcopacy. The Archbishop's role in nominating magistrates and 'overseeing' the town was to become particularly inconvenient to that determined leader of men, John Bell - who had only been fourteen when the last Archbishop was evicted in 1638. Thus when the restoration of episcopacy was proclaimed on 6 September 1661, the magistrated took immediate alarm. On 23 September they decided to appeal to the King 'to the effect the towne may have the electioun (of their magistrates) in their awine hands and power lyk wtther frie royall burrowes' fearing that the manner of election was now 'lyke to be invertit'.(55) On 5 October 1661, Bell produced a petition to this effect, drawn up for the town by the Edinburgh advocate Sir John Nisbit, who was to present it at Court.(56) In the meantime the normal burgh

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(53) Ibid., II, 480; III, 11. V.Infra, pp. 251-2.

(54) Glasgow Records, II, 458; 491.

(55) Glasgow Records, II, 468.

(56) Ibid., 470.

elections were carried out independently in the absence of the Lennox interest.(57) Colin Campbell was returned as Provost, and there were only eight changes from the previous Council. As might be expected the petition to Charles II was futile: this was the last 'free' election held until after the Revolution of 1688-9, although Leighton was extremely liberal and considerate in his administration of the See and elections between 1670-3.

Thus at the elections of October 1662 Archbishop Fairfoul's servitor nominated John Bell as Provost. Bell accepted, protesting formally that this nomination should not be 'prejudiciall to the toune heirafter anent their former right they had to the electione of their magistratis'.(58) Actually he had done quite well out of the nomination, holding power with his clique, which ensured that the new Council only had 8 changes in personnel from Bell's previous body. Fairfoul was not really in a position to consider tangling with the Bellite ascendancy - faced with grave problems in the Church, and ill health, he probably felt he needed their support. And indeed Council policy was basically cooperative towards government and Church - thus on 14 May 1662 they did 'most gladlie, cheirfullie and wnanimouslie accept and take the oath of alledgence affecting the King's Majesties his royall prerogative over all persons and all causes'.(59)

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(57) Esme, Duke of Lennox died on 14 August 1660, unmarried. He was succeeded by his cousin, Charles, sixth Duke. Glasgow Records, III, xxiv.

(58) Ibid., II, 493.

(59) Ibid., 485.

On 26 May they decided to allow all burgesses and gild brethren admitted 'during the usurper's time' to be re-admitted free if they took the oath to the King. Refusal meant entry in a special book kept by the Clerk, (60) which could find its way to Privy Council interrogation sessions. An excess of zeal for the crown was politic - Glasgow offered no resistance to the Declaration Acts of 1662-3, which formed the other staple of loyalty. (61)

Yet in one critical respect, John Bell miscalculated badly - he ended up on the wrong side in the Indemnity Conspiracy of March 1663, whereby Middleton attempted to eliminate the influence of Lauderdale and Crawford in Government. As Row says

'because the Commissioner's spleen was most against the Earls of Crawford and Lauderdale, he and a cabal with him, viz., Tarber 'or' Cromartie, Bell, Provost of Glasgow etc., plotted that the Parliament should except 12 persons out of the Act of Indemnity, and declare them incapable of public trust;...(62)

Lauderdale and Crawford were to be included, but turned the tables on Middleton, who was dismissed. The Commissioner to the third session of the Parliament on 18 June 1663 was John Leslie, Earl of Rothes, who had kept aloof from Middleton's conspiracy.

This coup d'etat had an immediate effect on John Bell's parliamentary career. He still represented Glasgow,

(60) Glasgow Records, II, 487.

(61) V. Infra, p.229.

(62) R. Blair and W. Row, The Life of Mr Robert Blair, containing his autobiography from 1593-1636, with supplement ... of the history of the times to 1680, ed. T. McCrie, (Edinburgh, 1848) p.427.

but he was no longer on the Articles.(63) His committee involvement terminated - he is notably absent from the second list of Commissioners for the Plantation of Kirks and Valuation of Teinds on 11 September 1663, a favourite occupation of his.(64) He was still powerful in Glasgow, but his involvement against Lauderdale was to tell when he encountered a more formidable Archbishop in Alexander Burnet.

In order to understand the burgh politics of the Restoration, a close examination of Kirk affairs since the Restoration is indispensable. When Andrew Fairfoul, former minister of Duns in Berwickshire, was nominated to the Archbishopric of Glasgow by the King, and consecrated in London on 15 December 1661, this completed a season of misfortune for committed Presbyterians in the nation and the West. The Protesters were of course the first to feel the chill wind of change. Gillespie had recanted, but not all the Glasgow Protesters were so self-interested. Porterfield, Grahame and Spreule had held out longer than anyone when it came to abjuring the Remonstrances, and some ministers were even more defiant. John Dickson of Rutherglen - Baillie's 'maniken of small parts' - was summoned before the *Parliament* and imprisoned in October 1660 for preaching against the Government. He was allowed to return to his charge in April 1661,(65) but the Kirk

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(63) A.P.S., VII, 447-8. The system of election had reverted to the 'old way'. V.Supra, pp.205-6.

(64) Ibid., 474. However for Bell's activities re-organising Rutherglen Parish teinds, where he was a heritor, V.Infra, p.259.

(65) Fasti, II, 487.

settlement soon had him in arms again. Robert McWard, minister of the Outer High, former Regent and one-time Chancellor of the College, defied the Government in a bold sermon preached in the Tron Kirk during February 1661. He bewailed that 'The glory of a begun Reformation in manners is eclipsed and an inundation of profanity come in ... How hath the faithful city turned an Harlot!' He abjured his flock to witness 'that I humbly offer my Dissent to all Acts which are or shall be passed against the Covenants, and the Work of Reformation in Scotland'. (66) McWard was arrested and taken before the ~~Parliament~~ on 6 June. He expected to share Guthrie's fate, and had a powerful farewell address prepared, but he was not immediately sentenced, and on reflection qualified his dissent. He was banished the land on six months' notice, only one of which could be spent in Glasgow, to spend his last twenty years fulminating from Rotterdam. (67)

Meanwhile the solidarity of the Glasgow Resolutioner group did not long survive the Restoration and victory over the Gillespians, as so often happens with pacts of convenience. The moderate Resolutioners found themselves increasingly isolated as the Malignants luxuriated in power. Baillie found his chance of the College Principalship threatened by John Bell's empire building. He confided to Sharp on 1 January 1661:

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(66) Wodrow, History of the Sufferings ..., (Glasgow, 1828-36) I, 206-7 (Henceforth Wodrow, History)

(67) Ibid., 79-84. McWard became minister of the Scots Kirk in Rotterdam in 1675, and published tracts from there. See W. Steven, History of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam, (Edinburgh, 1833), p.28.

'I hear that my neighbour Mr John Young by the diligence of his brother-in-law, Proveist Bell, whose credit with the Chancellor, Register, Advocat, Clerk of Edinburgh and diverse of the State, is very great, not only is procureing that place for himself, but laying these things on me with our statesmen which are either false or no faults'.(68)

Baillie took such exception to Young that he 'could ever have lived rather with Mr Gillespie than with him; and if he should be the man, I think I would leave the House, and go to a country church'.(69) He had hoped for useful reforms from the coming Visitation of the Colledge, but now feared that Young and Bell, through 'cunning and activitie', would select the Visitors and do more harm than good. As he predicted 'the Proveist and Bailies of Glasgow' were appointed among the Visitors, and he complained that they must lack impartiality as auditors of the Colledge accounts.(70)

This growing animosity between Baillie and the Bellites explains his fears in August 1661 that their domination would soon cause 'new trouble among us'.(71) Indeed the Bell group were soon involved in the affairs of Kirk as well as Council and Colledge, much to Baillie's concern 'for the act of presentation to patrons puts the planting of all vacancies in their hands, and I am afraid they make not a good choice'.(72) He refers to the 'Act anent presentations of ministers' of 18 June 1661 which gave lay patrons back the privileges they had lost to the Kirk Party in 1649. It abjured patrons to present such

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(68) Baillie, III, 419.

(69) Ibid.

(70) Ibid., 456.

(71) Ibid., 471-2.

(72) Ibid., 472.

only 'as shall give sufficient evidence of their pietie, loyaltie literature and peacable disposition'.(73)

Candidates had also to take the oath of allegiance before their patrons - the magistrates in the case of burghs.

The Act followed up the establishment of the Commission for the Plantation of Kirks and Valuation of Teinds on 6 March 1661, of which John Bell was a member.(74)

It is ironic that Baillie had until quite recently been a staunch supporter of Bell's in the struggle against Protester control of patronage in the Glasgow Presbytery - there were no complaints about lay influence then. Now he saw his former friends conforming with the enemies of Presbyterianism and a pillar of the Covenanters' ecclesiastical privileges - the abolition of lay patronage - swept away. However the new legislation had positive aspects. The Commission on Teinds paved the way for a wholesale rehabilitation of churches in the West - even when Bell lost his place on it, he remained conscientious in Rutherglen parish where he was a heritor.(75) Another act, of 25 January 1661, also ostensibly offered relief by allocating vacant stipends towards the maintenance of distressed ministers and their dependants for seven years. John Wilkie of Broomhouse - formerly Clyde member in the First Protectorate Parliament - was appointed Collector on 1 February,(76) but he found the task arduous as many

(73) A.P.S., VII, 272.

(74) Ibid., 48-50.

(75) V.Infra, p.25<sup>q</sup>.

(76) A.P.S., VII, 18-19; 26.

interests groped for the spoils.(77) Of course such ministers as had suffered for their loyalty to the Stewarts got what little Wilkie could garner. For instance in the Glasgow Presbytery, Archibald Dennistoun, deposed from Campsie by the Protesters in 1655, received £100 sterling on 5 July 1661: he was restored to the charge in 1662. Other awards seem more gratuitous - William Forbes, who was presented to Cadder by the King in 1664, received £100 sterling at the same time as Dennistoun because his father had been previously deposed.(78)

Baillie's position in the year before his death in the Autumn of 1662 was unenviable. All he stood for was being shattered, and while he held to the Presbyterian fundamentals, colleagues like Hugh Blair and John Young readily conformed with episcopacy. Indeed only his death saved him from the full consequences of his position. He has recently been exposed to withering criticism from I.B. Cowan

'as a fairly inconsequential figure in the struggles of his time - a man who seldom voiced his opinions when he was in the minority and who, but for his Letters and Journals through which he commented on the views of men who were not afraid to speak their mind, would not by his own actions have merited a full-length biography'.(79)

(77) Three years later, on 27 February 1664, the conscientious Alexander Burnet told Sheldon he had been debating the vacant stipends with Privy Council, informing them that out of 'many thousand pounds taken wpon this account, nothing is payed, nor (for anything I can see) intended, to the true sufferers. He resolved to take up the issue, realising this would not endear him to the heritors. Lauderdale Papers, II, App. A, ii.

(78) Fasti, III, 373; 376.

(79) See Dr Cowan's review of F.N. McCoy's Robert Baillie and the Second Scots Reformation, in S.H.R., 11v, 2: No. 158; (October 1975) 219.

Admittedly Baillie could be timid and circumspect - he admits to avoiding confrontation with Gillespie on occasion(80) - and he had neither the will or the style to follow the stance of Dickson and McWard in opposing episcopacy. Certainly he maintained a naive faith in Charles II's interest in Presbyterian values, and he kept in touch with Sharp long after other 'old friends'.(81) Yet he did his best to defend the Kirk.

Florence McCoy comments on Baillie's humanity and charity towards even the fallen Protesters(82) - who after all included his fellow ministers. On 31 January 1661 he wrote to Spang:

'That whole partie [of Protesters] was clean run downe to the contentment of the most; for they have been ill instruments of irreconcilable division for twelve years, both in Kirk and Kingdome. For myself, I rejoyced not at the hurt of any of them; but wished all of them might have been spared, on their good behaviour in time to come, which now its lyke will be easilie obtained, though befor it was desperate'.(83)

He saw greater dangers arriving in their room -

'The pitie and favour of many is turning towards them, by the insolent behaviour of some, who are suspected may make a new party among us. Our State is very averse to hear of our League and Covenant. Many of our people are hankering after Bishops, having forgot the evill they have done, and the nature of their office. An exceeding great profanitie, and contempt both of the ministrie and religion itself, is everywhere prevalent: a young fry of ministers in Lothian and Fife, and elsewhere, looks as if they intended some change, without any fear or reverence to the elder ministers, who latelie put them in their places. The wisest and best are yet quiet till they see

(80) Baillie, III, 115-16.

(81) Ibid., 473.

(82) F.N. McCoy, op.cit., pp.212-3.

(83) Baillie, III, 468.

whether these things will goe. The goodness of the King himself is the only hope we have to get anything going right'.(84)

Baillie's way was to work through old friends now in high places. He appealed to Lauderdale on 18 April 1661:

'Mr Guthrie I ever opposed his way, but see that none get the King persuaded to take ministers' heads: banishment will be worse for them than death: how shall they get bread if put without the bounds of the English language? Send them to Orkney, or any other place where they may preach and live'.(85)

He also petitioned Glencairn, an old friend, whose 'care and kindness did save all the ministrie and gentry be-west Glasgow from the sore trouble otherwayes would have come on many of them', not to desert 'our poor church at this tyme of her greatest need. Permit not our gracious Sovereigne to be deceived ...'.(86)

When the Act Recissory of 28 March 1661(87) and the Proclamation anent Church affairs (banning supplications on church government) of 18 June 1661(88) showed him the way events were turning he protested vigorously to Lauderdale that if he were fit enough - and he was certainly failing by 1661 - he would be up at London protesting

'at least as Willie Hill did the King James ... and shew him how he was misinformed of the state of our countrie that Bishops would become so lovelie creatures to us as we were

(84) Ibid.

(85) Ibid., 459. Alexander Burnet actually did arrange 'to confine disorderly ministers to some of our northerne islands' in September 1655. See The Lauderdale Papers, op.cit., II, Appendix A, 'Sheldon Papers', xxvi.

(86) Baillie, III, 475. Glencairn became Chancellor of the College in October 1660.

(87) A.P.S., VII, 86.

(88) Ibid., 271.

ready to receive them without so much as a supplication to the contrare'.

Indeed he assured him that he could raise a petition

'against all novations in our Church of all the ministers of our Synod without exception of ane man, and there will be of us above six score in Kyle, Carrick, Cunninghame, Clydsdail, Barranthrow and the Lennox. Also in the Synods of Galloway, Dumfries, Argyle and the Isles, I hear not of one man that would not join on their knees with us. The qualities of these light men about Aberdeen who have been ever for all changes are weell enough known'.(89)

But of course the admonitions of an elderly minister could do little to sway the balance at Court where Lauderdale himself had to conform.(90) In English circles regional 'grass-roots' pressure for a return to established Anglicanism had consolidated Government opinion.(91) The King had naturally grave doubts about the tractibility and respect for civil authority of all Presbyterians after his Scottish experiences of 1650-1, and hoped to bring Scotland into a more congenial frame of government aided by episcopacy. Sharp possibly hoped to form a party for a comprehensive settlement now that the Protesters had been crushed. Middleton was not as subtle - he anticipated resistance and set out to strangle it at birth: policy was thus clumsily managed, driving moderate presbyterians into rigid opposition leaving Sharp with a rump of time-servers, enthusiastic Anglicans on import, and ambitious men.

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(89) Baillie, III, 547. For Baillie's health, see Ibid., 453-4; 483.

(90) Moreover one has only to see Alexander Burnet's difficulties in combating real politik between 1667 and 1669 to sympathise with the hopelessness of Baillie's position.

(91) See Anne Whiteman, 'The Restoration of the Church of England', in From uniformity to unity, 1662-1962 ed. G.F. Nuttall and Owen Chadwick, (S.P.C.K; London, 1962) pp. 19-89.

Under Middleton, the Act Recissory and the Proclamation anent Church Affairs were precisely intended to forestall opposition and petitions. On the eve of the Act Recissory Middleton urged Lork Clerk Register Primrose that:

'The Act that is now before you is of the greatest consequence imaginable, and is like to meet with many difficulties if not speedily gone about. Petitions are preparing, and if the thing were done it would dash all these bustling oppositions'.(92)

In the Spring of 1661 there were already signs of another split in the Kirk in the West. At the meeting of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr in April, the wording of a supplication was debated vigorously. The right wing of the former Resolutioner party, including James Hamilton of Cambusnethan and James Ramsay of Hamilton - both future bishops(93) - objected to reference to the Covenants, and the Synod was adjourned until early May. However all parties agreed to a provisional Declaration on church government on 4 April before they disbanded.

This read:

'Whereas there is a scandal, as if some ministers in this church, had made, or were intending to make defection from the government of the church of Scotland, to prelatical episcopacy; therefore the whole synod, and every member thereof, do willingly declare, that they are fixed in the doctrine, discipline, worship, and church

(92) Baillie, III, 586. (Appendix, quoting Wodrow Mss. 8 vo. xl, no. 7 - now in N.L.S.)

(93) James Hamilton of Cambusnethan became Bishop of Galloway later in 1661 - he should not be confused with the Covenanter James of Hamilton of Eaglesham. James Ramsay was outed from Wester Lenzie by the Protesters in 1653 - he plays a key role in local affairs under Archbishop Alexander Burnet. He became Bishop of Dunblane in 1671.

government, by sessions, presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies, as it is now professed and practised within this church; and that they are resolved, by the Grace of God, so to remain'.(94)

The omission of references to the Covenants and the isolation of episcopacy represents a triumph for the right - the future prelates themselves.

However when Synod reconvened in May, Middleton sent orders to disband the meeting. This united the parties momentarily, and a deputation of Hugh Blair, James Stirling and Patrick Colvil set with a supplication to Edinburgh - but this contained no mention of the grievances against developments in church government, merely complaining about the disruption of Synod.(95) The Government were of course keen to exploit this breach in the ranks of Israel - Baillie notes that when Parliament appointed preachers in mid 1661:

'Mr Dickson, Mr Hamiltoun, and others of the ministers of Edinburgh were past by; as all we of the West, except Mr James Hamilton of Camnethan, and Mr Hew Blair: but in all the nuiks of Scotland men were picked out who were thought inclinable to change our Church-Government; and according to their invectives, against what we were lately doing'.(96)

Admittedly only a few Glasgow ministers apostasised, but they formed the nucleus of the Presbytery when it reconvened in 1662-63.

Baillie was still in correspondence with Sharp as late as 1 October 1661, appealing for the College's revenues and redress against Gillespie,(97) but these were

(94) Wodrow, History, I, 117-18; Lamont, Diary, p.135.

(95) Wodrow, History, I, 118.

(96) Baillie, III, 468.

(97) Ibid., 481-2.

yesterday's problems. However in his next - and last - letter of 12 May 1662 he came out openly against Sharp, tracing his apostasy back to a cabal with Sheldon at Breda previous to the Restoration.(98) This was over-reaction, for Sharp's correspondence with James Drummond in October 1660 suggests that his mind was still open. However his attitude towards church government was flexible - his fundamental was the Royal authority - 'If I were convinced that moderat Presbyterian Governement could not be as consistent with the King's interest as Episcopall, I would disclaim it'.(99) Such flexibility made him appear as an arch-apostate to dedicated Covenanters, not so much because he told lies, but because he told them little of the truth.

The net result of all the wheeling and dealing for Glasgow was the arrival of Archbishop Fairfoul at the end of April 1662. Baillie describes the confrontation vividly:

'Our Bishop the other week took a start to come to Glasgow. The Chancellor convoyed him, with Montrose, Lithgow, Calender and sundry more noblemen and gentlemen, with a number of our town's folks, both horse and foot, with all our bells ringing, brought them to the Tolbooth to a great collation. He preached on the Sunday soberly and weell; but Mr Hew Blair, in the afternoon, ridiculously worse than his ordinarie. Some of my neighbours were earnest that the Chancellor and he should have a collation in the Colledge on Monday morning. Against this I reasoned much; but was over-voted,

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(98) *Ibid.*, 484-5.

(99) *The Lauderdale Papers*, op.cit., I, 48. Sharp may well have influenced Baillie - who needed little encouragement - to depend on the King for a fair settlement. Similarly he influenced Robert Douglas and the Edinburgh ministers, who were more important than Baillie at this stage.

to our great and needless charge.  
 Mr John Young made to the Bishop a speech  
 of welcome, beside my knowledge. The  
 Chancellor, my noble kind schollar brought  
 all in to see me in my chamber, where I  
 gave them seck and ale the best of the  
 towne. The Bishop was very courteous to  
 me: I excused my not useing of his styles,  
 and professed my utter indifference from  
 his way; yet behoved to entreat his favore  
 for our affaires of the Colledge; wherein  
 he promised liberallie. What he will  
 perform tyme will try'.(100)

The burgh Council had obviously made great efforts to  
 receive Fairfoul - in addition to the 'great collation'  
 they spent £313 on his escort from Edinburgh, and total  
 expenses amounted to £896 6s. 10d. Some of this was  
 recovered indirectly from the fines of £12 imposed on  
 'ilk persone within this burgh who wer commandit to ryd  
 out and convoy in the chancellour and bishop, and did not  
 give obedience'.(101) The fines went to the Hospitals -  
 a minor compensation for the poor of Glasgow, who, as  
 always, were mute spectators at the junkets of their  
 superiors.

After the civilities of the Bishop's reception came  
 the reckoning. Middleton's group and Sharp dominated  
 Scottish affairs, and they were determined to bring  
 dissenters to heel. On 24 June 1662 Parliament declared  
 both Covenants unlawful and proscribed all opposition in  
 the Act for the preservation of His Majestie's Person,  
 Authority and Government:

'If any person or persones shall by writeing,  
 printing, praying, preaching libelling,  
 remonstrating or by any malicious and advised  
 speiking expresse publish or declare, any words  
 or sentences to stir up the people to the hatred

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(100) Baillie, III, 486-7.

(101) Glasgow Records, II, 484-5.

or dislyk of his Maiesties royall prerogative and supremacie in causes ecclesiastick or of the Government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops as it is now settled by law ... That everie such person or persons ... legally convicted thereof, Are heirby declared incapable to enjoy or exerce any place, or imployment civill, ecclesiasticall or military within this church and Kingdom'.(102)

These sentiments were embodied in the Declaration of September, which had to be taken by all persons under public trust, including magistrates and councillors of burghs and candidates for benefices.(103) An Additional Act of 7 August 1663 covered burgh elections, and it was double-edged: all candidates elected 'who shall refuse or delay taking the Declaration To be from thenceforth not only incapable of and to have forfeited the priviledges of a magistrate bot also all the priviledges of merchandiseing trading and others belonging to a burgess'(104) - a notable deterrent to merchants who were not absolutely for the Government. It had to be signed by 11 November 1663 - it posed no problem to the Glasgow Council,(105) but not all the Edinburgh councillors had signed by 19 January 1664. In June 1664 Stranraer's magistrates refused to sign, and the Provost went to Ireland to evade compliance. As late as November 1664 Irvine councillors were being hauled before Privy Council for resistance.(106) The Government was in fact sharpening its inquisitorial claws in all respects.

The reference to illicit writing and printing in the

(102) A.P.S., VII, 377-9.

(103) Ibid., 405. This corresponds to the English Corporation Act of 19 December 1661.

(104) Ibid., 462.

(105) Glasgow's men record correspondence with Privy Council, but no dissent. Glasgow Record, III, 24; V.Supra, p.216.

(106) R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., I, 485; 549; 617-18.

Act of 24 June 1662 was no idle threat. In Glasgow the Archbishop was appointed censor at the October meeting of the Privy Council in 1662. Lauderdale had recommended the appointment of Robert Saunders as burgh stationer and printer - he was in operation by April 1661, and was still in business in 1680.(107) When the Privy Council met in Glasgow Saunders petitioned them for remission of excise on books imported from abroad: this was granted provided 'any book or paper he shall print shall be allowed by the Archbishop of Glasgow'.(108)

However the most controversial legislation concerned church appointments. The Act concerning presentation of ministers of June 1661 was followed up by the more rigorous and tactless Act of 11 June 1662,(109) which rendered all appointments since 1649 invalid. Incumbents had to present themselves to the bishops by 20 September for the determination of their right to office. Presentation was to be by the lawful patrons and collation by the bishop. This Act made it difficult for even moderates to acquiesce in the new episcopal settlement - which was not without merit, allowing sessions, presbyteries and synods to function under the bishops. Despite postponements of the deadline for conformity, the great majority of ministers in the West refused to submit.

To forward policy members of the Privy Council made a progress all through the South-West in late September 1662,

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(107) Glasgow Records, II, 462; III, 280.

(108) R.P.C. Scot. 3rd series, I, 382.

(109) A.P.S., VII, 376.

secured by James Turner's dragoons.(110) But according to Wodrow, on arrival at Glasgow, Middleton was told by Fairfoul

'That notwithstanding of the Act of Parliament ... there was not one of the young ministers, entered since 1649 had owned him as a Bishop; that he had only the hatred which attends that office in Scotland, and nothing of the power'.

Fairfoul proposed that all these contumacious ministers should be banished from their houses, parishes and respective parishes by 1 November unless they came in - he assured the Commissioner 'there would not be ten in his diocese who would stand out, and lose their stipend in this cause'.(111) Sir James Lockhart of Lee - the only sober member at the meeting according to Wodrow's polemic - knew the ministry better, and prophesied rebellion and desolation for the West country.(112) Indeed the Act passed on 1 October did exceed Fairfoul's expectations - in the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr some 113 ministers refused to submit: only 14 conformed. In the Presbytery of Glasgow the ratio of conformity was higher - John Young, Hugh Blair and Gabriel Cunningham acquiesced, and 14 members refused.(113)

The position of outed ministers was made clear by the

(110) F.N. McCoy confuses this issue, stating that 'episcopacy and presbytery cannot co-exist in one church' (F.N. McCoy, *op.cit.*, p.216). Of course they did, not without administrative success, for almost thirty years before the Revolution of 1689. See W.R. Foster, Bishop and Presbytery: the Church of Scotland, 1661-88, (London, 1958) for a sympathetic study.

(111) Glasgow paid 'Colonell Turner ane hundreth and sex pundis starling for the use of the sojouris in towne conform to the Lord Lyoune's ordour' on 1 November 1662. Glasgow Records, II, 496.

(112) Wodrow, History, I, 282.

(113) Wodrow, History, I, 382.

'Scots Mile Act' of 13 August 1663, whereby they were banned from residing within twenty miles of their parishes; six miles of Edinburgh and cathedral cities, and three miles of royal burghs:(114) this effectively banished Glasgow ministers several times over. Before this however only the more conspicuous nonconformists suffered imprisonment or exile - men who had drawn attention to themselves well before the 'Black Acts' of June-October 1662. For instance Donald Cargill of Barony Kirk had not only

'disobeyed the acts of Parliament for keeping an anniversary for his Majesty's happy restauration, and for obtaining a lauffull presentation and collation from the Archbishop of Glasgow before twenty of September last, bot also ... his cariadge hes bein most seditious, and he hes deserted their flock to their great prejudice by want of the ordinances'.(115)

Thus his charge was declared vacant and the Privy Council told him to remove north of the Tay by 1 November 1662 or face imprisonment and trial for sedition. Obviously he was being made an example of, and the reference in his citation to 'their flock' suggests information laid against him by parishioners. Cargill went on to become a founding Cameronian.

Life for an outed minister under surveillance, arrest, or beyond the excitement of conventicles was bleak. John Carstaires of the Cathedral Collegiate charge was confined to Edinburgh for long periods in 1662-3 as a result of his opposition. In March 1664 he was charged to appear before Sharp's revived Court of High Commission,

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(114) R.P.C., Scot., 3rd ser., I, 403-4.

(115) Ibid., 270.

and in appealing to Glencairn against this, assured him

'that since I was outed of my ministry at Glasgow, which is now two full yeires, I have had so little pleasure to see any person, or be seen, let be to meddle towards disturbing the publick peace, (from which sort of meddling especially I have ... even a naturall aversation and abhorreny), that I have been sometimes three, sometimes six weeks, sometimes two full monethes, that I have never come out of doores'.(116)

Carstaires fled to Ireland, and then Kintyre, to avoid the tentacles of the High Commission - his resistance was generally more circumspect than that of Cargill or McWard, and his involvement in Caldwell's expedition to join the Pentlanders was to be less than eager. His manner was habitually effusive, and ostracism seems to have had a drastic effect on his morale. The melodramatic scenario of thundering forth to the rapt remnant of the Godly on desolate moors obscures this aspect of an outed minister's existence.

In this background of resentment and non-cooperation, the new establishment had to make great efforts to strengthen its arm - it could not rely upon a devotional tradition in the South West to evoke loyalty: it had to be strong, vigilant and active - it was not a remnant but a vanguard movement. There were of course numerous vacancies in the local ministry - McWard, Cargill, Rodger and Carstaires had been deposed in the burgh alone, and now in January 1663 Hugh Blair elder died, just after the Council had been

'taking to ther consideratioune the death  
and removall of ther faithfull and honest

pastoures, whereby now the haill kirks ar vacand to their great greiffe, and being most willing to have ther kirks again sufficientlie planted with ministers, have appoyntit to plant the Blackfriar Kirk first: and appoyntis bailleis Rae and Colhoun with Mr Patrick Bell and John Walkinschaw to inform the bishop heiranent'.(117)

John Bowie, an experienced 'stickit minister', whose first and most recent charge had been in England at the age of fifty, was recommended for Blair's charge, although he eventually went to Tron Kirk.(118) Archbishop Fairfoul was urged to forward the planting programme. They also requested him to continue the previous rates of stipend, which ranged from £1013 6/8d for the Inner High to £720 12/- for Tron Kirk,(119) and lesser sums supplemented by 'victuall' for country charges.

The burgh magistrates seem to have been very much in charge of local Kirk affairs during Fairfoul's office - perhaps the Archbishop was demoralised by lack of support from the wider ministry, for at his first diocesan synod on 14 October 1662, only 27 brethren out of 223 <sup>parishes in the</sup> Synods of Glasgow and Ayr; Dumfries and Galloway turned up.(120) The magistrates made the appointments to charges, drawing upon a pool of unemployed graduates and aspiring clergy who seem to have flocked to Glasgow - just like their counterparts among the military men after 1665. John Bowie has already been cited - on 7 February 1663 he was duly appointed to Tron Kirk: he was to perform a massive holding operation during the years of shortage

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(117) Glasgow Records, III, 1-2.

(118) Ibid; Fasti, III, 451-2.

(119) Glasgow Records, III, 2-3 F.N.1.

(120) Wodrow, I, 281.

in the burgh ministry. John Glendie was appointed to Blackfriars - unlike most of the new 'curates' his stay was fairly brief. Both men received £10 sterling each for their aid in the crisis.(121) On 21 February the magistrates arranged for the election of a new 'kirk sessioun', advising that this body 'set doune ane act that who beis electit and refuissis to accept, to pay fiftie pundis of penaltie, and twelfe shillings to be exactit aff everie one for everie dayes absence without ane sufficient excuse'.(122) Such suggestions bear the unmistakable imprint of the authoritarian John Bell. Fines for inattendance at Presbytery were later introduced by Burnet.(123)

Yet although John Bell was associated with John Young and the embryonic episcopalian interest, and always maintained a conspicuously royalist stance, his Council was fairly considerate towards some outed ministers. They paid Ralph Rodger £20 sterling to aid his 'transportatioun' on 1 November 1662. John Carstaires' stipend for the previous term was paid on 31 January 1663,(124) and he - rather grudgingly - refers to the Provost's kindness in July 1662. At the same time, Carstaires was in touch with William Anderson of Stobcross - Bell's future political opponent.(125)

The magistrates were of course patrons of the city charges, and after long denial by the extreme Covenanters

(121) Glasgow Records, III, 4-5.

(122) Glasgow Records, III, 5. This 'sessioun' could have stood in for the Presbytery, as yet unconvened. V. Supra, p. 260.

(123) V. Infra, p. 260.

(124) Glasgow Records, II, 496; III, 4.

(125) The Life and Letters of Rev. John Carstaires ed. Wm. Ferrie, (Edinburgh, 1843) pp. 90; 97.

were only now enjoying their privileges to the full, after the restoration of lay patronage. But the new order of Bishops was realising the dangers of interference by the civil magistrate, great and small. John Carstaires heard that Sharp himself had complained about excessive exercise of the civil power in a sermon of October 1662:

'I hear that there hath bein great offence among the grandees at Sharp's last Sabbath sermon, wherein they say he restricted the magistrates power as to the putting out and in of ministers without the church. If it be true, as I never expected so much stoutnesse from so base a slave of men, so it sadlie reprooves others whom it would have better become'.(126)

Of course the Presbyterians always leapt upon any semblance of erastianism, and Sharp was after all a lapsed Presbyterian in a Bishop's mantle. Indeed this issue became even more critical to Alexander Burnet in his administration of the Archbishopric of Glasgow. In the first instance he restricted the regiment of John Bell's group. Later he opposed Lauderdale's Indulgence policy and the Royal Supremacy over the essentials of his order - a far more hazardous resistance, and Burnet was devoted to the Anglican ideal. Church settlements sowed strange seed, and reaped odder harvests. Of course the Kirk men of the Holy Alliance wanted it both ways - they sought the aid of the secular arm to repress the Covenanters but rejected its supremacy. Only the Covenanters themselves in their hey day had managed to get away with that - against malignancy.

The sederunt of the first recorded meeting of the new

Presbytery of Glasgow on 3 June 1663 reveals the difficulties facing the new Establishment. The Moderator was David Liddell, and his colleagues were Gabriel Cunningham, James Carnegie, William Forbes, John Bowie, John Hay, Hugh Blair, younger, and John Young. (127) Of these, only Cunningham had previously served in the area: Young was from the College, and Blair recently arrived from Muiravonside (although of course he had close local contacts) Hay and Forbes had no charges as yet, whilst Carnegie was minister of Kilmarnock. Obviously it was a makeshift Presbytery.

Indeed, of the ministers appointed between 1662 and 1667, eight were in their first charge. Of these, four had graduated since 1660, and two, John Bowie and Robert Boyd, having graduated in 1629 and 1648 respectively, would seem to have fallen into the 'stickit minister' category. It is not surprising that there were a fair number of curates who had been taught by 'these light men about Aberdeen'. David Liddell was the first to arrive, to Barony, in 1662. A clutch followed Burnet to the See in 1664 - Alexander Auchterlony, Alexander Milne and Arthur Ross. Gilbert Mushet came to East Lenzie in 1666. Yet despite inexperience, and the tensions in the area, a fair number of these ministers spent the rest of their careers in the Glasgow Presbytery. Of some 17 new arrivals in the 1660s, only four left after brief charges - Auchterlony, John and David Hay, and John Glendie. Six

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(127) S.R.A., T-PRES, Records of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 1663-82, p.1. [Henceforth MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1663-82.]

stayed on until the Revolution of 1689, and suffered rabbling: only Gilbert Mushet survived all changes, to be deposed for immorality in 1696.(128)

The Presbytery were encountering passive resistance and non-cooperation from the Covenanters, who avoided services, baptisms, marriages, burials and all contact with the curates. They attacked the problem at their first recorded meeting on 3 June 1663. Typically, John Grahame

'late provest of Glasgow being cited to this day compeir for withdrawing from the ordinares in the citie of Glasgow [go]ing to another place wt his child to be baptized, compeired, [and] being challenged by the moderator ... said yt ... he did not acknowledge the presbitrie ane lauffull court of Chyrst having autoritie over him'.(129)

Grahame refused to reason with John Bowie, and the Moderator ordered him to attend the next meeting. Meanwhile his 'insolent carriage' was to be reported to Parliament and the Privy Council. Unabashed, Grahame was put through the Presbytery's entire disciplinary procedure of first and second public admonitions, and first and second public prayers(130) - the next step was excommunication but there is no record of Grahame's final judgment. Others were not so bold - 'Rot. Robesone ... promised to keep the church ... and to baptize his children in his owne parish', on his first appearance.(131)

But the passive resistance continued - In October 1664 John Bowie was appointed to make a report on absentees, and abstainers from baptism: a list was to be submitted

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(128) See *Fasti*, III, for details of these ministers.

(129) MSS Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1663-82, p.1.

(130) *Ibid.*, pp.2; 3; 4.

(131) *Ibid.*, p.1.

to the Archbishop.(132) The practice continued throughout the generation of Episcopacy and may have contributed to inaccurate assessments by local statisticians of a declining population in Restoration Glasgow.(133) The presence of non-conforming ministers who refused to leave their parishes after October 1662 acted as a magnet for dissent. Obviously it was to these ministers that John Grahame and others had recourse for services and spiritual comfort. Archbishop Fairfoul was less vigorous than his successor Burnet in harrying out these ministers, but the Presbytery took it upon itself to chase up James Hamilton of Eaglesham, incited by his neighbour Hugh Blair of Rutherglen. He was first summoned before then on 1 July 1663, but refusing to appear, they referred him to the Bishop and Synod. On 5 August he was discharged from performing marriages and baptisms. Emissaries sent on 18 August were again rebuffed. This stalemate lasted until Burnet had him before the Synod and deposed on 19 April 1665.(134) The charge remained vacant until Andrew Walker was admitted in 1667. Walker died in March 1669, and Hamilton came back after accepting an Indulgence.(135)

In the meantime the civil administration of the burgh remained under the firm guidance of the Bell-Campbell axis. Colin Campbell's prestige was boosted by his appointment as a J.P. in the revised list for Lanarkshire of 9 October

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(132) *Ibid.*, p.15.

(133) See T.C. Smout, 'The Glasgow merchant community in the seventeenth century', *S.H.R.*, xlvii, 1968, 53-71.

(134) *Mss Presbytery Records, 1663-82*, pp.2; 3; 6; 7; 16; 30; 31.

(135) *Fasti*, III, 387.

1663.(136) At the elections Archbishop Fairfoul sent instructions from Edinburgh to continue the provost and bailies in office. Bell accepted with the usual reservations regarding future elections and privilege - noting in particular that it was unconstitutional to continue bailies after a single term(137) (provosts were allowed two consecutive terms). There were only seven changes in personnel at this election. Opposition to the growing domination of the Provost may well be reflected in an Act of 15 October 1663 which barred provosts, as Presidents of the electoral 'college', from nominating councillors for election in the leets. Should the Provost object to the leets drawn up, the issue was to be put to the vote.(138) The provost's office was of course very prestigious - as is evident in John Carstaire's correspondence, when George Porterfield is always referred to as Provost, as a mark of the past glories of the Godly.(139)

However the office was about to suffer another, more serious, check. On 7 November 1663, Archbishop Fairfoul died in Edinburgh, probably exhausted by his brief tenure in the West. Gilbert Burnet said that Fairfoul was a

'pleasant and facetious man, insinuating and crafty: but he was a better physician than a divine ... He had not only sworn the covenant, but had persuaded others to do it; and when one objected to him, that it went against his conscience, he answered ... that a man could not live in Scotland

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(136) A.P.S., VII, 504.

(137) Glasgow Records, III, 17-18.

(138) Ibid., 18-19.

(139) Carstaires, Letters, pp.128; 135. Mrs Carstaire's sister had married Porterfield of Quarrelton (near Paisley), a relative of George Porterfield's.

unless he sware it, therefore it must be swallowed down whole without further examination. Whatever the matter was, soon after his consecration his parts sunk so fast that in a few months he, who had passed his whole life long for one of the cunningest men in Scotland, became almost a changeling'.(140)

Burnet later claims that Fairfoul 'fell into a paralytic state, in which he languished a year before he died'(141) Certainly this would explain his relative inactivity and the predominance of John Bell and the Council in Kirk affairs. Fairfoul has been accused of persecuting the dissenters by provoking the 'Black Act' of 1 October 1662, but Middleton needed little persuading, and the vulgar strictures Kirkton pours out against Fairfoul are scarcely justifiable.(142) Whether by omission or intent, his jurisdiction was moderate. All this was now to change. On 18 January 1664 Alexander Burnet, Bishop of Aberdeen, was raised to the Archbishopric. He was installed on 11 April 1664, and was to upset the political balance in Glasgow within six months.

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(140) Gilbert Burnet, History of his own time, ed. O.Airy, (Oxford, 1897), I, 238.

(141) Ibid., I, 295.

(142) James Kirkton, The secret and true history of the Church of Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1817), pp.177-8.  
[Henceforth, Kirkton, History]

"The Politics and Society of Glasgow: 1648-1674"

Part three: Restoration Glasgow, 1660-74

Chapter VII Make room for Caiaphas: the forward  
policy of Archbishop Alexander Burnet  
in Glasgow, 1664-7

Sau you the comedie wes latlie acted,  
Baall priest solemlie consecrated,  
room for Caiaphas;  
Five lords accompanied the beast  
And sold ther honer for a feast  
Esaues a statesman.  
Meid Pluto's vassall in the West,  
Yet Jhonstoun's ribbald will set him best,  
welcome Alcorane.

Lines 'On the consecration of a bishop' relating  
to Alexander Burnet, from the Fintry MSS. printed  
in Hist. MSS. Comm. Var. Coll., v, 270-1 (1909)

Alexander Burnet was a single-minded cleric. Little in his character and background suited him to the delicate task of controlling the most turbulent diocese in Scotland. He had been out of the country for some 24 years previous to his appointment to the See of Aberdeen(1): a few months later he was Archbishop of Glasgow. According to Sir George Mackenzie, Burnet 'was bred a minister in England, most zealous of their forms and worship'.(2) Sir George admired his tenacity of principle, but J.A. Lamb has concluded that

'It should have been realised in high quarters that one with the training and tradition of Alexander Burnet was not suited to the exceptionally difficult task of pacifying or controlling the West with its strong covenanting spirit ... Burnet was not very tactful in his dealings with his opponents'.(3)

Tenacity of principle remains an attitude widely condemned in the extreme Covenanters, yet here was a bishop to rival their obduracy, and indeed forge it in the white fire of persecution. It may well have been deliberate Government intention to appoint a 'strong man' to the Archbishopric of Glasgow - such a move was typical of policy before Pentland forced a reappraisal. Fairfoul had been unable to set the new establishment on a positive course, and Burnet was just the man to do his utmost for his order. Although he had strong competition from the

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- (1) See Julia Buckroyd, 'The dismissal of Archbishop Alexander Burnet, 1669', Recs. Scot. Church Hist. Soc., xviii, pt.ii, (1973), 149-155. In this thesis 'Burnet' will always refer to the Archbishop of Glasgow, not Gilbert Burnet the historian, unless otherwise signified.
- (2) Sir George Mackenzie, op.cit., p.156; See also Kirkton, op.cit., p.221 and Wodrow, History, ii, 8.
- (3) J.A. Lamb, 'Archbishop Alexander Burnet, 1614-1684', Recs. Scot. Church Hist. Soc., xi, (1955), 135.

redoubtable John Bell and the Glasgow grandees, Burnet in fact imprinted his personality on Glasgow more forcefully than any other individual in this period: the last of the Laudians had come to town.

He also brought his friends - although only Bishop of Aberdeen for a few months, Burnet had made sympathetic contacts judging by the number of 'curates' from the north-east who came down to fill vacancies in the Glasgow Presbytery. His approach was made evident at his first Diocesan Synod in the spring of 1664 when he rounded on dissenting ministers whom Fairfoul had allowed to remain in their parishes, and proceeded to 'put five or six of his curates publicly in orders after the English pontifical'.(4) There was much to be done in the Presbytery of Glasgow, where there was a grave shortage of ministers, and the fabric<sup>and</sup> amenities of the churches were in decline.

Burnet was fortunate to have in his episcopal city a fortress of loyalty to the crown - if not entirely to the new religious settlement - in the Council, dominated as it was by the Bell-Campbell clique. Yet he almost immediately made inroads upon this capital by establishing not merely a presence but a rule in Glasgow, which was intolerable after the relative freedom enjoyed by lay interests since the defeat of the Gillespian Kirk Party.

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(4) Wodrow, History, ii, 8; Kirkton, History, p.221. For the subsequent efforts of Burnet and Sharp 'to come as neare to a conformity with the Church of England' as they could 'by comfort' draw their colleagues, see Bodl. MS. Misc. 1824, Sheldon Papers, ff.47-8; Burnet to Sheldon, 10 Apr. 1666. Henceforth Bodl. MS. Misc. 1824.

The patrician establishment of Glasgow had not withstood the assaults of Gillespie only to surrender control of their electoral privileges and primacy in 'their town' to a carpet bagger bishop. Kirkton says that Burnet

'was so great an oppressor of the city of Glasgow in the choice of their magistrates, that he obliged the greatest malignants in the town, the Bells and Campbells, to protest against him. This man was chief director of the persecution of the west country, and found the spirit of his underlings the curats as forward as his own'. (5)

Initially the magistrates had tried to be accommodating towards their new overlord. On 3 April they heard that Burnet was to travel to St Andrews for briefing by Sharp before proceeding to Glasgow. Thus a deputation of John Bell, Mr Patrick Bell, Colin Campbell, younger, and his son, Robert Campbell, with James Pollok and James Colquhoun, appointed themselves 'to repair to Edinburgh ... attend the said archbishop from that place to St Andrewes, and from thence to Edinburgh back againe, and from that to this burgh': (6) after such perambulations the Bell-Campbell clique hoped to have the Archbishop in their pocket.

As friends of Burnet they hoped to enjoy a fair say in the appointment of local ministers. The archbishop had ordered the planting of vacancies before his arrival

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- (5) Kirkton, *History*, p.221; Wodrow (*History*, II, 8) mentions this conflict but does not name the Bellites.
- (6) *Glasgow Records*, III, 27. This reception should be compared to that of 1674 when Burnet returned, succeeding the popular Leighton, and of the magistrates and council 'there came not one to take notice of me' Brit. Mus., Addit. Ms. 35,125 (Lauderdale Papers), f.264.

in Glasgow, and on 19 March 1664 the burgh Council had written to him recommending James Nairn, Richard Waddell, David Williamson and Alexander Young as candidates for the second charge in the West Kirk.(7) These candidates were all from the former Resolutioner stronghold in the South-East of Scotland, and none of them responded to the call. Burnet must have wanted to select his own men, for after a deputation of Provost, Bailies and Mr Patrick Bell had dealt 'earnestlie with him for the plantatioune of our kirkis'(8) on 26 April 1664, Provost Bell reported on 7 May that the Archbishop wanted 'ane meiting for removing of the difference betwext him and the toune'.(9) Whatever the result of these confrontations, the magistrates continued their own efforts to fill church vacancies between May and September 1664.

They were so desperate that they paid 'two studentis, Gregorie and George, ... [for] supplieing a pairt of the vacancie of the ministrie'.(10) They renewed pressure on David Williamson of Edinburgh to accept a charge, offering him a stipend of £1000 on 27 August: Dowhill and James Colquhoune were instructed to 'deall with the bischop to speed his transport'.(11) This attempt failing, on 3 September the clerk was directed to inform Williamson 'that they will tak no excus aff his hands but follow that call to the uttermost': again Dowhill and Colquhoune had to 'acquint the bischop heiranent'.(12) Finally John Bell

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(7) Glasgow Records, III, 27.

(8) Ibid., 29.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Ibid., 31.

(11) Ibid., 34-5.

(12) Ibid., 35.

himself rode out to Kilsyth to meet Williamson, but the minister refused to budge.(13) This case is made all the more fascinating in that Williamson was a determined Covenanter, deposed from his Collegiate charge at St Cuthbert's of Edinburgh in 1662 - he obviously realised Glasgow was no place for him under Burnet.(14) This attempt to gain a Covenanter minister may well signify that the Bellites were sympathetic to the fate of the outed ministry - we have already seen their reference to 'the removall of ther faithful and honest pastoures'.(14A) However despite - or because of - John Bell's domineering tactics, the magistrates failed to attract a single minister during their campaign.

Relations with the Archbishop may have been further strained over the financial affairs of the College. A transaction involving the Earl of Kilmarnock and certain subdeaneries had been criticised

(13) Ibid., 38-9.

(14) After numerous adventures Williamson regained a charge at St Cuthbert's in 1689 - as he had prophesied. A remarkable man, among his other feats, he was married six times, outliving all wives but the last. He fathered twelve children, the last when he was 67.  
See Fasti, I, 96; 100.

(14A) V.Supra, p.233-4.

by Burnet, and he rather smugly told Lauderdale - initially his confident - on 16 June 1664 that the college was not pressing the issue with the King as they now realised that they had made a bad bargain - just as Burnet had warned them. (15) Thus in matters of patronage the Archbishop was eroding the confidence of local vested interests, preparing the ground for his own impressive programme of reform. But to realise his plans, Burnet had to remove two obstacles to his ascendancy - the Bellite establishment who wanted their own way in running Glasgow, and the Covenanter radicals.

The Bellites were subdued overnight in the election of October 1664. Burnet's attitude is clearly revealed in a letter to Lauderdale of 17 September, immediately

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(15) N.L.S., MS.2512 (Lauderdale Papers), ff.33; 41-2.  
Henceforth N.L.S., MS.2512.

before the elections, in which he said

'I am told provost Bell and his brethren are designing some encroachment upon my privileges at Glasgow which in all probability will be brought to maturity againe the tyme of our election. How he hath used me and with what insolency he hath presented all his designes here my Lord St Andrewes and the Justice Clerk can in part informe your Lod. In a word there was such a triumvirat settled here by your Lod. ... that I can hardly yet break it. If they attempt anything at this tyme to my prejudice I hope your Lod will allow me your best assistance in pleading my just right'.(16)

The triumvirate 'established' by Lauderdale probably refers to the Government's support for the Bellites since the Restoration, in the persons of John Bell, Colin Campbell and James Campbell. Lauderdale had actually little to do with this, and he must have been highly suspicious of John Bell after the Provost's involvement in Middleton's Indemnity conspiracy.(17) Burnet probably gained licence from Lauderdale to purge the Bellites.

There was actually a constitutional case for evicting Bell and James Campbell from the magistracy - Bell had completed his two statutory terms as Provost, and after two terms as Bailie, Campbell was ineligible for election to either office. But such formalities were to be ignored by Burnet when it suited him, and his purge went far beyond any amicable redistribution of offices. With his usual tact, Burnet sent word by his servitor that William Anderson was to be Provost, in the light of his 'zeall to promote his Majestie's service and his guid

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(16) Ibid., f.60.

(17) V.Supra, p.216.

affectione to the church'.(18) The old Provost and Council immediately protested that Anderson was ineligible - he was not of their number, and in fact his solitary experience of burgh office was as a councillor in 1656. Indeed he was far less experienced than Porterfield had been in 1645. The Bailies were sent to ask Burnet for 'ane new presentatioune ... conteining the name of any of the merchand rank now on counsell to be provest', (19) failing which they were to send for William Anderson. The Archbishop would not budge, and the deputation withheld their protestation timidly. Anderson was duly elected. His Bailies were James Pollok, John Herbertson and John Kerr. Sixteen changes in office took place.

It should be remembered that William Anderson's last intervention in burgh politics was in a peculiar collaboration with Gillespie in 1658, when he and Walter Neilson were allied.(20) By coincidence, Neilson now returned to office as Deacon Convener. Indeed even Thomas Allane, the old Porterfieldian councillor, was returned now briefly before retiring on 19 October due to ill health or 'inabilitie'.(21) John Bell and James Campbell held their places as ordinary councillors for the moment, but lost them in the election of October 1665, and their friend Frederick Hamilton was soon deposed as Dean of Guild in disgrace.(22)

Thanks to Burnet's intervention civil burgh affairs

(18) Glasgow Records, III, 40.

(19) Ibid., 41.

(20) V. Supra, p. 162.

(21) Glasgow Records, III, 44.

(22) V. Infra, pp. 330-1.

were now under the direction of the Andersons, four of whom appear in the new regime - there was one in the previous Council. The Anderson family network is very complicated: there were three main branches of merchant Andersons, and others among the crafts, all represented on the Council in our period. Three John Andersons were Provost between 1645 and 1689. The most senior of these, John Anderson of Woodside, Provost in 1655 and 1656, died in 1664, (23) leaving the two John Andersons, elder and younger of Dowhill, to share the scene with the Andersons of Stobcross - William Anderson's branch of the family. A fourth John Anderson - possibly also referred to as 'Mauchline John' - appears in the list of merchant councillors in 1670.

The Andersons were great merchants and property owners. The Dowhill Andersons' original territory was to the east of Glasgow, on the north side of Gallowgait, across the Molendinar Burn. John Anderson, elder, bought another estate at Newlands in Cathcart, building a mansion and gardens there called Dowhill (or Dovehill) after his town property. (24) Dowhill elder was Provost in March 1658, and again in 1667: he died in 1684. (25) Like

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(23) Anderson, Provosts, p.23.

(24) C.F. MacIntosh, Biographical Memoirs ..., (Glasgow, 1847), App., pp.167-86.

(25) Prior to the election of 1664 Dowhill elder was violently assaulted by John Maxwell of Blackston, son of Sir Patrick Maxwell of Newark, on his way back from business in Paisley. The Maxwells of Newark were bound over by Privy Council to refrain from molesting the Dowhills. This incident - which seems at odds with the amicable negotiations over Port Glasgow, in which the Dowhills shared - reflects Blackston's basic instability - he became an informer after Pentland. V.Infra, p.277. See also R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., I, 620-1; 696-9.

John Anderson of Woodside he was an active member of the Engagement Council of June-October 1648, and an associate of James Bell and Colin Campbell in the struggle against Porterfield and Gillespie. Dowhill younger extended the family domain with a town house in Saltmercat. He entered the Council in October 1658, but does not appear again in office until the key election of 1664 when the Andersons took over the reins from the Bell-Campbell clique. After this Dowhill younger held offices until 1673, whereupon he disappears until 1682. This second break in his career is very important - it occurred because he had become an active Covenanter. In June 1677 he was before Privy Council for conventicling, withholding his child from baptism and disquainting the ordinances for years - the whole gamut of Covenanter offences short of open rebellion, and he was suspected of planning this, (26) although he was in fact a moderate Whig, not one to join with the 'wild men' of the Cameronians. This evolution of Dowhill younger from a malignant background to radicalism is perhaps the greatest single indictment of Restoration policy in Glasgow.

The key to this sea change may well be his marriage to Susannah, daughter of James Hamilton of Aikenhead, in 1659. (27) Aikenhead subsequently refused to recognise David Hay, the 'curate' of Cathcart. (28) He was fined

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(26) Wodrow, History, II, 360; 387; III, 466; Memoirs of William Veitch and George Brysson, ed. T. McCrie, (Edinburgh, 1825), p.91. [Henceforth Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson] V. Infra, p.351.

(27) Anderson, Provosts, p.23.

(28) After this set-back Hay left for Skirling in Biggar Presbytery: he died in 1666. Fasti, III, 381.

and persecuted by Burnet through the High Commission Court, where he refused to take the Oath of Allegiance without disclaiming the royal supremacy over the Church, after which they exiled him to Inverness for eighteen months, fined him £300 sterling and badgered him for years. (29) With such relatives, Dowhill's politics are understandable. Add to these tribulations a distaste for the Bell-Campbell ascendancy, and Dowhill cooperation with William Anderson seems an obvious step, for here was one who was less likely to support Covenanter persecution whom Burnet had appointed in his desire to exorcise the Bell group. Moreover under William Anderson there would be more opportunity for high office in the burgh, without the risk of blatant radicalism involving trade and fortunes. Indeed, even Dowhill Younger preserved his estates throughout his persecution, to emerge as a prosperous reforming Provost after the Revolution. The Dowhills were no fools.

The Andersons of Stobcross had extensive lands by the Clyde down-stream from Broomielaw: this had been burgh common land, the old West Common. Anderson compensated for this take-over by selling part of Linenshaugh, east of Glasgow Bridge, to the Council for the Laigh, or New Green. (30) He also bought estates in Balshagrie, Balgray and Hyndland, on the slopes above Whiteinch and the village of Partick. After his death in 1688, virtually bankrupt, his dissolute son, Captain

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(29) Wodrow, History, I, 391-2. Aikenhead had been excepted from the Act of Indemnity. A.P.S., VII, 422-3.

(30) Glasgow Past and Present, I, 15-16; 54-5; Glasgow Records, III, 11.

William Anderson, sold all the properties to the great merchant Walter Gibson (a cousin of the Andersons).(31) William Anderson's politics were unstable, tending towards an inconsistent radicalism. His earlier flirtation with Gillespie may have been an aberration, and it did not stop Burnet from making him Provost in 1664. Yet he was to lose office in 1669 on the eve of Burnet's resistance to the Conciliation Policy with the Remonstrance of the Synod of Glasgow, recovering power under Leighton, and losing it for good under the restored Burnet in 1674. In 1675 he was to be fined 6000 merks, and imprisoned till he paid up, for his part in the Burgh's Letter to the King criticising Lauderdale's administration and demanding a new Parliament.(32) Anderson, backed by the Dowhills, represented the alternative to John Bell in Glasgow politics for a decade, and until 1669 there existed an alliance of expediency between Burnet and what was in fact the radical wing of the burgh establishment.(33)

The pattern of elections between 1664 and 1669 reveals in detail the triumph of the Andersons, and Burnet's domination. In the election of 1665 William Anderson was of course again made Provost, and there were only four changes in personnel from the previous administration - notably John Bell, James Campbell, James Colquhoun and Frederick Hamilton, who had recently been

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- (31) Regality Club of Glasgow, Papers ..., (Glasgow, 1889-1912), IV, 210-11.  
 (32) Convention Records, IV, 79. The entry refers to Captain William Anderson's attempt to gain compensation for his father's fine in 1674, V. Infra, p.205.  
 (33) William Anderson's wife was also in trouble, for conventicling, in 1679. R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., VI, 139.

suspended as Dean of Guild. Burnet had no compunction about offending burgh protocol, nominating William Anderson as Provost for a third term in October 1666, and no protest was made. Continuity was preserved throughout the elections of 1667 and 1668 - although Dowhill elder was Provost in 1667, William Anderson was back in 1668. Only two or three changes in total personnel occurred in these elections, and above all, no Bells, Campbells, or their camp followers, were returned between 1665 and 1669.

However the occasional long-standing radical eluded Burnet's famous long nose, and slipped into burgh government under William Anderson. One such was John Johnston of Clauchrie, a Dumfries man who had entered the wool trade in Glasgow around 1645.(34) He had been on every Porterfield Council between 1649 and 1651. He was forced to renounce the Remonstrance with the Porterfieldians in 1660.(35) He was excepted from the Act of Indemnity in 1662.(36) He appears in all the Anderson Councils, falling with William Anderson in 1669 and returning with him in 1670. Three times Bailie, he was Provost in 1684 and 1685 in a brief interregnum between the terms of the corrupt and reactionary John Barnes, only to be dismissed for criticism of Archbishop Arthur Ross's shady financial dealings with Barnes in June 1686.(37)

Although Burnet was eventually to regret his support

(34) Anderson, Provosts, pp.34-6.

(35) Baillie, III, 448; V.Supra, p.205.

(36) A.P.S., VII, 422-3; Wodrow, History, I, 272; V.Supra, p.204.

(37) Glasgow Records, III, 386-7.

for William Anderson's group, it did give him initial advantages in Glasgow. He now had a free hand to pack the local Presbytery with his own kind - or at least to add to these of his kind already there, for he found Synod and Presbytery quite congenial, although the latter was undermanned. On 2 May 1664 Burnet reported to Lauderdale on his first Synod, where he subtly mixed discipline with encouragement to repent.

'I find the disorders and distempers of this countrey are great, and yett (I blesse God) our unanimous proceedings in our Synod have raised the hearts and hopes of many: there were many present at the meeting and yett not the least seeming show of discord or dissension. We have suspended the refractory persons Mr James Wallace and Mr Hugh Peebles with a very general and unanimous consent; others I kept off till farther means should be used to convince and reclaime them, and to this purpose have appoynted a Select Committee to sitt with me here at Glasgow on the 24th of this instant'.(38)

In the Presbytery of Glasgow, he chaired a sederunt himself on 11 May 1664, no moderator being necessary. Further proceedings against the recusant minister of Eaglesham, James Hamilton, were instigated.(39) Burnet was a born Jeremiah, usually prone to see rebellion behind every bush, invariably failing to see how his policies kindled the fire. On 16 June 1664 he found 'the generality of people of all sorts more dissatisfied and mutinous than I could have imagined, like the restlesse sea moved with

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(38) N.L.S., MS .2512, f.38. James Wallace and Hugh Peebles were, respectively, the ministers of Inchinnan and Lochwinnoch, in the Presbytery of Paisley: both had typical careers involving conventicles, indulgence, further offences and a triumph in 1689. See Fasti, III, 144; 152-3.

(39) MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1663-1682, p.6.

every wind'.(40) It would not be his fault if a radical, once known to him, lingered actively in his city. He certainly succeeded in smoking out all the Porterfieldians apart from John Johnston, telling Sheldon on 2 May 1664

'Our proceedings in the Commission and the care we took to subdue ... our fanatique interest made 7 or 8 of our grandees in Glasgow take leave of the country and make a visit to their distressed brethren in Amsterdam, with purpose not to return till Presbyterianism be rampant'.(41)

George Porterfield had been acting on behalf of the 'distressed brethren' for some time, forwarding money to Robert McWard in December 1661. McWard half expected Porterfield to come across himself next Spring, although he wished affairs 'went so at home as ye may yet be invited to stay'.(42) Thus when McWard and John Livingstone were joined by the Glasgow laymen, a fervent Scottish emigre community was built up centring on the Scots Kirk at Rotterdam. Naturally the exiles formed a very tight-knit circle - McWard married John Graham's widow around 1676(43) - and maintained contact with relatives and sympathisers in Scotland. John Brown of Wamphray started a great propaganda war with his Apologeticall Relation, to which McWard contributed a preface.(44) However most of their correspondence says

(40) N.L.S., MS .2512, f.42.

(41) The Lauderdale Papers, ed. O.Airy, (Camden Soc; London, 1884-5), II, Appendix A, (Sheldon Papers), iv.

(42) N.L.S., Adv. MSS., (Wodrow MSS.) Wod. Fol. Lviii. 'Correspondence of Mr Robert McWard, 1658-1679' f.2.

(43) Fasti, III, 465.

(44) An Apologeticall Relation of the ... sufferings ... of the Church of Scotland since August 1660, (anon., N.P., 1665). Copies of this work arrived in Scotland greatly alarming Burnet, who told Sheldon it was 'one of the most anti-monarchicall that ever I saw' See The Lauderdale Papers, II, Appendix A, xxx.

little of historical value - they knew it would be vetted by Privy Council.

With the outbreak of the Second Dutch War in February 1665 the 'voluntary exile' of the Porterfield three became compulsory. On 14 October 1665 they were charged to appear before Privy Council, and declared rebel and fugitive in their absence, on account of

'treasonable practices in Holland merely because they continued there during the War; when indeed, whether there had been peace or war, they could not willingly have come home, to involve themselves in unnecessary trouble'.(45)

Naturally the Government were very sensitive about collusion between the exiles and the Dutch, and in the event the only Porterfieldian to return to Glasgow was John Spreule, in November 1671. His presence was reported to the Archbishop, probably by a member of Walter Neilson's family, and he was imprisoned.(46) But by now Spreule was a spent force - he petitioned Privy Council for his freedom, as he had been peaceable since his return, and 'at no conventicles, yett was taken up and imprisoned now under his old age, and many infirmities'.(47) He was freed under caution and a bond of

(45) Wodrow, History, I, 428.

(46) John Spreule, 'Autobiography' pp.18-19, in Jas. Maidment, Historical Fragments, op.cit., Both Walter and William Neilson were dead by 1671, but Spreule says the family of 'W.N.' reported him.

(47) Wodrow, History, II, 196. Although John Spreule disappears from active politics after 1671, his cousin, 'Bass' John Spreule, apothecary in Glasgow, was in the thick of the Troubles through to the Revolution. He was at Bothwell Bridge and was tortured and interrogated by Privy Council. He was also in Holland, and interrogated regarding emigre involvement with the 'Rising' of 1679. See A true and impartial account of the examinations and confessions of several

2000 merks. Porterfield remained a father figure - John Martin wrote to him in September 1669 'O if the olde proveist might ere he dy be invited home to rule in that poore citie and ... once more dance there before the ark going to be sett up in its place'.(48) He was still alive in 1675, when John Carstaires wrote consoling him on his condition, assuring him that it would always be said that 'George Porterfield ... walked with God'.(49) In fact the most positive role in emigre politics was played by Carstaire's son William, who with James Stewart of Goodtrees (son of the Protester Provost of Edinburgh, Sir James Stewart of Coltness) played an interesting part in the negotiations leading to William of Orange's descent on England.(50)

The most positive side of Burnet's policy was in his recruitment of ministers and efforts to enhance and endow his churches. With the ready cooperation of the Anderson Council, problems of pulpit supply were energetically tackled in late 1664. Immediately after the election, the Council, hearing that the Bishop was to give a call to Arthur Ross, minister of Old Deer in Aberdeenshire, decided 'themselfes [to] wryt ane letter to him showing their

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execrable conspirators against the King and his Government in Scotland, (London, 1681) [Wing T 2492 A] Contained in Scottish Pamphlets, 1669-1729 in G.U.L., Special Collections, at Bf 72.9.6. See also Wodrow, History, III, 252-62; IV, 412-13.

- (48) R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., III, 643. See also, Ibid., 706; 707-708. The letters say little of interest, apart from one from Margaret Muir to Mrs Porterfield, describing the fate of their relatives and exiles in Kintyre.
- (49) N.L.S., Adv. MSS. (Wodrow MSS.), Wod. Fol. Lix, f.58.
- (50) See John Carswell, The descent on England ... (London, 1969), pp.25-30 et.seq.

concurrence with the bishop therintill, and evidence their assent to the man'.(51) Burnet had invited Ross to come south, and to bring with him 'some deserving persons to come this way, for supplying our Vacancies'.(52) Ross's career in Glasgow was splendid, despite a contretemps with Lauderdale in 1669. He became Bishop of Argyle in 1675, and succeeded Burnet at Glasgow in 1679.(53) His recruitment drive in the North East bore fruit: on 31 October the Council called Alexander Milne, currently minister of Cambusnethan in Hamilton Presbytery, but a recent graduate of King's College, Aberdeen, and son of the minister of Inverurie.(54) Of course the link with the North East did not always favour the episcopal camp - that ultimate Covenanter, Donald Cargill, outed minister of Barony Kirk, Glasgow, hailed from Hatton near Peterhead.

These new appointments relieved the strain on John Bowie 'there being none but himselfe since the removing of maister John Claudie [Glendie] in keeping of sessiones, attending marriages and baptisemes, visiting the seik and utheris incumbent burdings'.(55) As a reward, Bowie was excused a debt of £20 sterling due to the town. The new ministers' stipends were in line with that offered David Williamson - Alexander Milne received £1000, with eighty pounds for housing costs.(56) In the outlying parishes, cash payments were lower, with more in kind - at Easter

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(51) Glasgow Records, III, 43.

(52) GORDON, James F. (ed.), Scotichronicon: comprising Bishop Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops etc., (Glasgow, 1867), IV, 101-2.

(53) Fasti, III, 457.

(54) Glasgow Records, III, 46; Fasti, III, 453.

(55) Glasgow Records, III, 49.

(56) Glasgow Records, III, 46.

Lenzie the minister had £356, with 3 chalders of victual and 56 merks for communion elements.(57)

Burnet pushed forward the re-organisation and upgrading of standards in the outlying kirks of the Presbytery, on the basis of Government legislation of September 1663.

On 9 November 1664 he empowered

'the presbrie of Glasgow to visit all the churches within their Commission setting glebes, manses, sommes [stipends], grass for each minister and all our church affaires within the severall congregatiounes'.(58)

The visitations went out with a will - their zeal refutes Kirkton's allegations that the 'curats' Presbyteries were no more but the bishope's spyes and informers'.(59) At Rutherglen they found 'the fabrick of the church ... ruinous, the schoolmaster's stipend is not come, ... the manse is incompleat in regards that the minister wants a barn ... he has not hors and kyes grass'. This decline was probably accelerated by dissent, for the minister of Rutherglen was the zealous conformist Hugh Blair, younger: most of his heritors refused to cooperate with him. However among their number was John Bell, ex-Provost of Glasgow and heritor of Hamilton farm. In May 1665 he and Commissar Fleming headed a visitation which was ignored by all except the magistrates of Rutherglen. The Presbytery therefore appointed Bell, Fleming and the magistrates as 'stentmasters for laying on the stent upon the severall heritors of the paroch according to their valuationne'.(60)

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(57) MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1663-1682, p.33.

(58) Ibid., p.17.

(59) Kirkton, History, p.217.

(60) Ibid., pp.19; 38.

This pattern was repeated around the parishes, with great efforts being made to provide ministers with the essentials of manse, stipend, provisions and transport in the form of a horse and pasture. Transport was of course essential to carry all ministers to the Presbytery meetings, which went on circuit. Attendance at Presbytery meetings was of course expected - absentees had to explain themselves, and on 24 October 1666 fines of 12/- for each day's absence without reasonable excuse were laid down(61) - a step earlier suggested by John Bell. By this time the sederunt at Presbyteries was averaging twelve, as opposed to the six or eight common in the days of minister shortage. This was out of a maximum of sixteen ministers required to fill the charges of ten outlying parishes, five city charges and the Barony charge in the Cathedral.

Dissent and non-cooperation continued to be a problem. The Presbytery Records are full of accounts of withdrawals from baptisms, services and lack of support for ministers, particularly in Cathcart and Govan. Obviously it was easier to dissent away from the immediate eye of the Bishop and military, although, as Kirkton reports, congregations at Eaglesham, Ochitree, Kilwinning, Irvine and elsewhere were buffeted by the military in search of fines as pressure mounted against the Covenanters.(62) In Glasgow burgesses stood to lose their ticket as well as their goods, and caution led the leading Whigs to conventicle outside the burgh, at Pollok, Provan and in the

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(61) MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1663-1682, p.92.

(62) Kirkton, History, p.200.

Kilpatrick's: even then many were detected. John Grahame's initial stand(63) against the curates took place before the 'Bishop's Dragnet' was in full swing, and with the exile of such determined radicals recusancy in the city was less marked and went underground.

Many of the most determined offenders recanted when brought before the Archbishop and Synod, although they usually ignored the Presbytery's initial citations. In December 1665 proclamations against outed ministers and conventicles were issued from all the churches, and the moderator began regular inquiries as to whether conventicles had been held in the parishes.(64) In fact the answer was usually in the negative until after the rebellion at Pentland when a spate of conventicles in Provand, Eaglesham, Cathcart, Haggs and Govan is reported(65) - clearly demonstrating that repression increased dissent. The suppression of outed ministers was a fundamental to Burnet - he ordered the Presbytery to cite Andrew Morton of Carmunnock and Alexander Jameson of Govan for 'ther not removeing from these places quhilk they were told'.(66) But he could be lenient for Morton and Jameson were given licence to remain in their present homes,(67) showing greater charity than many Covenanters practised between 1687 and 1690.

Such leniency did not - indeed could not - extend to cover the more provocative ministers like William Weir of

(63) V.Supra, p.238.

(64) MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records 1663-1682, p.59.

(65) V.Infra, pp.280;290.

(66) MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1663-1682, p.42.

(67) Ibid., p.43.

Linlithgow and James Wallace of Inchinnan who were parading around Glasgow in defiance of the 'Scots Mile Act'. In January 1666 the Presbytery cited Weir to appear before them for his illegal presence in town and 'for some speeches uttered be him agt. Mr Arthur Ross and also agt. the present government'. Weir claimed that Ross lied from his pulpit, and that 'godliness and reasone had never gottine such ane dash as it hath with the present ... that they who are now in place are like to turn [the] people to gentilisme'.(68) Burnet kept his Presbytery busy, demanding lists of outed ministers conventiclars and seditious papers regularly. On 28 February 1666 he included a demand for a list 'of Quakers and papists as weell excommunicated as not excommunicated'.(69) The nest of Quakers at Campsie and Wester Lenzie had caused the minister there to complain that their public meetings on Sabbath and week days disrupted his work.(70) In September 1665 Burnet had complained to Lauderdale about the activities of English Quakers in Teviotdale and the Merse.(71)

Burnet's forward policy against dissenters eventually, and inevitably, led to a confrontation with the Anderson Council. On 3 April 1666 the Council received a letter from the Archbishop advising them that

'efter search he findes severall persones,  
both men and women,(72) who ordinarlie

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(68) MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1663-1682, pp.62-3.

(69) *Ibid.*, p.69.

(70) *Ibid.*, p.51.

(71) *N.L.S.*, MS .2512 f82. For Quakers in Edinburgh, See Wodrow, *History*, I, 377.

(72) The role of women among the Covenanters is interesting - they were often used in mobbing (as they were in Edinburgh during the National Covenant struggles, and as they assert themselves in Belfast today) A classic

dishantes publict ordinances and flateres themselves with hope of impunitie, bot [he] knew not from whence thair confidence springes, and thairfor thought it his ... dewtie to adverteiss the counsell that [he]... intendit (give their fynes be not exactlie levied be them) to imploy some of the officeris of his Majesties melitia, both to observe who withdrawes from ordinances and also to exact the penalties imposed by law, which [he] is verie unwilling to doe, both becaus [he] did for sie it will be ane dishonour and los to the towne and also ane greater prejudice and punishment to the persones that offend'.(73)

After great deliberation the Council decided it was preferable that they should uplift the fines '(to the effect that they might be applyed to pious uses) then that any sojouris should have the collecting thairof'.(74)

Andersonite cooperation, albeit unwilling, ensured their continued sponsorship by Burnet, who did not want to let the Bellites back into power at this stage - all of which must have been trying for John Bell, who had kept a low profile and was cooperative when required, as in the affairs of Rutherglen Parish. With this rigid imposition of fining, Glasgow was being brought into line with the rest of the South West, and national policy, which must now be discussed.

The departure of Middleton from the direction of

case in Glasgow occurred in 1678, when officer John Lees, under orders from Provost John Bell to break up a house conventicle, was badly beaten and only saved by the military. The incident caused great concern to Burnet. See Glasgow Records, III, 257-8, F.N.1. On 24 November 1665, Roths told Lauderdale that the preachers stirred up 'the uimin so as they are wors than deivils, yay I dear say if it were not for the uimin vie should have litell trubell with conventicles or such caynd of stuff'.

Lauderdale Papers, I, 234.

(73) Glasgow Records, III, 71.

(74) Glasgow Records, III, 71.

affairs in mid 1663 had no substantial effect on policy towards dissent, for his successors under Rothes cooperated with the Bishops in a Holy Alliance dedicated towards maintaining the religious settlement and royal prestige. Its instruments were the resurrected Court of High Commission, fines and an increasing dependence on the military men, who flocked to the scene for employment as eagerly as the original Covenanters had done in the initial struggle against Charles I.

The High Commission - rejected even in England after the Restoration was loathed by Covenanters not merely for its repression, but, typically, for its erastian elements: to Kirkton, it was that 'hermaphrodite court', (75) half clerical, half lay, bearing within its innards the essence of the royal supremacy, as it was established by prerogative on 12 January 1664, on a temporary and experimental basis. Its members included Bishops, Nobles, Officers of State, the Provost, Clerk and Dean of Guild of Edinburgh, the Provosts of St Andrews, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Ayr and Dumfries, and, of course, Sir James Turner. It was used against ministers like John Carstaires, and the Glasgow Porterfieldians: in particular, Burnet used the Court to bring the Western lairds to heel - Sir William Cunningham of Cunninghamhead, James Hamilton of Aikenhead and John Porterfield of Duchall (a relative of George Porterfield's

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(75) Kirkton, History, p.202. Kirkton is consistent in his discerning of the evolution of erastianism and the royal supremacy, from the initial settlement and the re-establishment of presbyteries to Burnet's own moment of truth in 1669. John Brown isolates the disease in the Oath of Allegiance of 1662 - see Apologeticall Relation, op.cit., pp.116-18.

and an 'excellent and religious gentleman')(76) were all persecuted by the High Commission, as a preliminary to their round-up in the next year. Burnet in fact probably alienated the bulk of the Renfrewshire lairds, for former malignants like Maxwell of Newark(77) subsequently became involved in conventicling. Burnet's only solid ally in the West was Sir William Cochran of Dundonald(78) - the Resolutioners' ally in the struggle against Gillespie.(79)

In one respect only was John Middleton's policy of reaction substantially modified - the fines imposed upon those excepted from the Act of Indemnity on 9 September 1662, including the Porterfieldians and Sir George Maxwell of Pollok, were suspended by the King until they had been reviewed. Burnet however criticised policy, telling Lauderdale it was a pity the 'fines were delayed when there was less danger, and now so peremptorily required when our malcontents are more and their hopes greater ...' Moreover he felt that the distribution of fine proceeds should be carefully managed otherwise it would 'offend not his Maties supposed enemies but reall friends'.(80) Burnet had of course no quarrel with the principle of fining, but merely with its management. The terms eventually decided upon were quite generous - payment was due in two instalments, the first by December 1664 and the

(76) Wodrow, History, I, 384-95 covers the workings of the Court.

(77) Sir George Maxwell of Newark was out in Glencairn's Rising - see Memoirs ... by James Burns, p.26, in Jas Maidment (ed.), Historical Fragments, op.cit. He, or his son, was fined for conventicling in 1673. Wodrow, History, II, 226.

(78) See The Lauderdale Papers, II, Appendix A, iv.

(79) V.Supra, p.165.

(80) N.L.S., MS .2512, f.64.

second in March 1665. However by October 1665, few offenders had paid even the first instalment - the Glasgow men were by now safely in the Netherlands. A new deadline of 1 December 1665 was set for offenders south of the North Esk: to encourage payment all who now paid the first instalment were excused the second - if they took the Declaration and Oath of Allegiance.(81)

After the expiry of the time-limit troopers were sent for quartering on offenders till they paid - and there were by this time willing hands for the work. But these were in effect fines for old quarrels, enormities and associations; more directly related to the current situation were the far-reaching fines and penalties imposed for recusancy - 20/- per offence - and conventicling, which were to make Sir James Turner such a well-known figure in the West Country. These fines, and the behaviour of the military in collecting them, were the immediate cause of violence and rebellion in the South West. Turner had been in Glasgow with his company of foot safeguarding the Privy Council in October 1662: he stayed in town until 1663, and returned again in April 1664 in between his punitive expeditions to the most obdurate areas of the South West, (82) where a fanatical peasantry had more opportunity - and less to lose - than dynamic Glasgow merchants for the Cause.

The Government - and none less than Burnet - knew the danger they faced. As a precaution the West was

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(81) R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., I, 348; 579; 613-5; II, 92-3.

(82) Sir James Turner, Memoirs ..., pp.135; 140. Turner liked Glasgow so much that he eventually retired to a property in Gorbals.

disarmed in the Spring of 1665. The Privy Council ordered the Duke of Hamilton to 'search all houses in Lanarkshire, except of those who were members in the last two sessions of the late Parliament or are in offices of public trust, for arms'(83) - although Rothes doubted if sufficient arms will be 'seassed on that country, worthie of the noyse, paines and trowble concerning them'.(84) Glasgow was disarmed after 22 April, the population being charged to

'... bring in their haill armes and to delyver the same to the magistratis to be kepted in the tolbuith, with certificatioune to all who neglectis to doe the samyne sall be looked wpon as disaffected to the present government and sua punished accordinglie'.(85)

Burnet was critical of policy as usual - in his opinion the search

'... will be of no great use or advantage to the publick, for by the best intelligence I can receive they have yett few or no armes butt swords and some pistols; and have not yett receaved what they expect from Holland'.

He felt that the search had been too publicised in any case - the real need was to

'secure the leading persons, and then we need not feare that the commons will attempt anything, and in my poor opinion it were fitter this shoulde be done when yow thinke the fleets are ready to engage than afterward'.(86)

He was soon to achieve this.(87)

The whole background to Government anxiety was of

(83) Hist. MSS. Comm., Supp. Report on the Hamilton Papers, series 21-2, 82.

(84) Ibid.

(85) Glasgow Records, III, 53.

(86) The Lauderdale Papers, II, Appendix A, xviii.  
Burnet to Sheldon: 18 April 1665.

(87) V. Infra, p.270.

course the Second Dutch War between February 1665 and August 1667. No doubt the refugees in Rotterdam would have welcomed an opportunity to land in Scotland with Dutch support had the chance arisen, but Burnet was vigilant. When a Dutch corn ship lay off the West Coast he had her seized, only regretting that he had not been present to organise a hunt for incriminating papers

'for certainly she lay there upon designe, and (as is supposed) not without hopes of protection, whether any of our neighbours were interested in the lading or not I shall study to enforme my self'.(88)

Earlier he had told Sheldon

'Our eyes are upon his Maties expedition against the Dutch if it please God to blesse and prosper him with good successe all will be quiet here, if otherwise it is to be feared a great many will thinke and say (as formerly) that providence hath putt into ther hands a good opportunity to rebell. It is fitt for us to be upon our watch tower till we see how it shall please the Lord to deale with these poor tossed and afflicted churches of whose tottering condition no man is more apprehensive than [I]'.(89)

In the event the Rising which did occur was spontaneous, leaving no time for co-ordination with the Dutch or anyone, but it confirmed the suspicions of Burnet and his friends.

However they needed have no fears regarding most of the Glasgow merchants, who were immediately concerned to

(88) The Lauderdale Papers, II, Appendix A, xviii. Burnet to Sheldon: 18 April 1665. Burnet also followed up 'ane intercourse between the Scots in the north of Ireland and our male-contentes in the west' with the Bishop of Londonderry - who confirmed his fears. People like John Carstaires and the Provost of Stranraer used Ireland as a refuge. For a discussion of Dutch assistance to the Covenanters in exile, with a view to arming and financing rebellion. See 'Notices of Colonel Wallace' in Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson, pp.377-80.

(89) Bodl. MS. Misc. 1824, f.27.

combine patriotism and profit in the War. William Anderson led a group of 12 Glasgow men (11 of whom were in burgh office during this period), Sir George Maxwell of Newark and some Edinburgh interests in outfitting the 60 ton frigate 'George' of Glasgow, which received letters of marque from Charles, Duke of Lennox in March 1665. It set sail in June under Robert McAllan aiming to seize enemy ships and bring them home to the Clyde. In August they brought several prizes into 'Port Glasgow' or Newark.(90) On 8 November 1666 the 'London Gazette' reported that a 'Privateer Chambers' had brought in a 'Dutch caper of 8 guns, with a prize ship laden with salt'.(91) The most exciting episode came later in January 1667 when the Dutch attempted to seize a 300 ton Glasgow wine ship 'loaden with seck' from Spain, but were subsequently overpowered by the crew, who brought her home to Greenock in triumph with the Dutch prisoners, 'after a great conflict'. This ship was owned by John Anderson, elder of Dowhill and other Glasgow men, who petitioned Privy Council indignantly on 25 March 1667 to stop the Admiralty claiming a third share in this ship as a 'prize'.(92)

National security against Dutch and 'our phanatikes in the West' was guaranteed by the new forces under Dalzell and Drummond, recruited straight from the Russian service. They were ready for action by October 1666, with some 3000 foot and 8 troops of horse - Burnet enthused that the

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(90) John M'Ure, History of Glasgow ( 2 ed. Glasgow, 1830) p.167.

(91) Ibid., p.167. F.N.

(92) R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., II, 278.

generals were 'persons of very great integrity and worth', (93) as did Sharp and Rothes, albeit the adjective 'rough' creeps into their appraisal. By now Burnet seems bent on both preventing and provoking resistance to policy, in a circular behaviour pattern peculiar to true reactionaries. He took the precaution of arresting Whig suspects among the Western lairds, including Cunninghamhead, Maxwell of Pollok, and Rowallan. He received permission for this and other punitive measures during a visit to Court in August-September 1665 on behalf of the Holy Alliance, when he warned the King of the manifest dangers of rebellion in Scotland in collusion with the Dutch. (94)

This mission marks a high-point in Burnet's influence, but already he was becoming estranged from Lauderdale's clique. On 19 August 1665 he told Sheldon 'I find some here not very well satisfied with my freedome, and I am told it is worse in Scotland: but threatened folks live long, I blesse God I am sooner hurt than frighted'. (95) On 10 April 1666 he told Sheldon that Lauderdale had complained about his 'dismal reports of a dreadfull rebellion in Scotland', but he was not going to allow 'great men' to put him off his duty. (96)

Sir James Turner's next expedition to the South-West

(93) Lauderdale Papers, II, xxxvii.

(94) Ibid., xxvi; Wodrow, History, II, 145. Sir George Maxwell of Pollok's confinement in various prisons from late 1665 till Burnet's fall in late 1669 makes his delightful appearance in Ringan Gilhaize as a sustainer of Pentland refugees on the Renfrew heights less than accurate. See John Galt, Ringan Gilhaize, or, The Covenanters, (Edinburgh, 1823), III, 284-9.

(95) Lauderdale Papers, II, xxiv.

(96) Bodl. Ms. Misc. 1824, ff.47-8.

set off in March 1666: by 13 November his activities indirectly led to the incident at Dalry which provoked the Pentland Rising and appeared to fulfill Burnet's prophecies. In fact Burnet's theory of rebellion was virtually self-fulfilling - he pressed for strong measures, which were translated into buccaneering by the military, whose 'integrity' built up an atmosphere of tension and outrage in which any local incident, any spark, could set off a rising. Burnet had made efforts to forestall an effective rebellion by culling the Western lairds and building up the Army, and could see almost an advantage in a rising which substantiated his jeremiads without really threatening national security. Thus on 27 November - before Dalryell eventually crushed the Whigs at Rullion Green on the 28th - Burnet assured Sheldon

'There is neither feare nor danger, I hope, in this tumultuary convocation, if it be not done by correspondence with England and Ireland, and if those that order our affaires take a right course, I hope it will strengthen, not weaken, our master's interest'.(97)

Burnet's first news of the Rising came from a minister fleeing from Galloway, and he immediately warned the Privy Council via Sharp, and the Duke of Hamilton. He gave orders to secure Dumbarton Castle.(98) One of Turner's first moves on his capture was to tell an onlooker to warn the Archbishop of Glasgow:(99) word reached Burnet at 1 a.m. next day of this extension to the Rising, and he

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- (97) Lauderdale Papers, II, xli. Similarly Sharp hoped the rebellion would expose the folly of 'too much lenity and connivance shewn to that pernicious party'.  
Ibid., xxxix.  
 (98) Ibid., xli.  
 (99) Turner, Memoirs ... p.150.

coped splendidly, for he was ill, and Glasgow was initially quite vulnerable, with a garrison of only fifty foot.(100) He subsequently told Sheldon

'Before I was perfectly recovered of my fever I was constrained to make my house a garrison, and to appoint guards of horse and foote to secure our towne from a sudden surprisall, wch through God's blessing succeeded well with us'.(101)

The arrival of Dalrymple's army after 17 November made the burgh fairly secure, and when the forces left on 23 November their pursuit of the rebels east towards Edinburgh made it unlikely that Glasgow would bear the brunt of the campaign.

In fact Glasgow's involvement in the Rising is insignificant - the Council Minutes merely note on 17 November 1666

'In respect the report goes that there is som rying in the west, contrare authoritie ... the townes people be putt in ane good postour for defence of the towne'.(102)

Burnet found that the fear and confusion in Edinburgh had been greater, and praised the magistrates for securing the capital(103) - but Edinburgh's alarm is perfectly understandable as the rebels were heading that way, and

(100) Lauderdale Papers, II, xii.

(101) Ibid., xii-xiii.

(102) Glasgow Records, III, 89.

(103) Lauderdale Papers, II, xiii. Edinburgh was sealed off by the royalist Provost, Sir Andrew Ramsay. A group of radicals including John Blackader did elude the guards aiming to join the insurgents, but on hearing that Colonel Wallace's force was 'weary, drenched, undisciplined' and depleted from 3000 to 900 men between Lanark and Colinton, they dispersed quickly. See Andrew Crichton (ed.), Memoirs of the Rev. John Blackader, (Edinburgh, 1826) p.128. James Stewart of Goodtrees gave the insurgents hope of aid from Edinburgh and William Veitch was sent to reconnoitre, only to narrowly escape capture. See 'Memoirs of William Veitch' in Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson, pp.29-35.

there were rumours of 40 Dutch ships off the Forth.(104) The Glasgow Presbytery Records have an unusual gap between 24 October and 19 December 1666 - perhaps they were purged to conceal ministers' activities during Pentland when they were under threat at the Revolution. Certainly the resuming entry refers to Alexander Milne's absence with the militia,(105) whilst James Ramsay, minister of Cambusnethan, Dean of Glasgow, and former minister of Wester Lenzie in 1653, was actually at Pentland, where he saved Duke Hamilton's life.(106)

Although the great merchant families of Glasgow seem to have stood aloof from such a haphazard venture, all Burnet's precautions could not stop lesser figures from joining the Rising - men low in capital but rich in spirit. Turner's custodian on the march was 'one Calhoun, a bankrupt merchant of Glasgow in whom they much trusted'.(107) Humphrey Calhoun was captured at Rullion Green, together with two other Glasgow merchants, Thomas Patterson, and John Wodrow (uncle to the historian). Also detained was Robert Steill of Govan, a tenant of Maxwell of Pollok's. John Millar of Glasgow acted as a scout during the march(108) - he seems to have escaped. Calhoun and Wodrow were executed at Edinburgh on

- (104) 'Wallace's Narrative of the Rising at Pentland' in Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson, p.409.  
 (105) MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1663-82, pp.92-3.  
 (106) 'Memoirs of William Veitch', In Memoirs of Mr William Veitch and George Brysson, ed. T. McCrie, (Edinburgh, 1825), pp.42-3. [Henceforth, Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson] James Ramsay was 'outed' from Wester Lenzie by the Protesters in 1653. V.Supra p.127.<sup>A</sup>  
 (107) Turner, Memoirs ..., p.162.  
 (108) Wodrow, History, II; 'Wallace's Narrative of the Rising at Pentland', op.cit., p.398. Wallace estimated that he lost fifty men killed, and eighty prisoner at Pentland. See Ibid., p.429.

22 December, victims of the first frenetic reckoning after the rebellion. Patterson and Steill had been indicted on 6 December, but Patterson died of wounds, and Steill somehow obtained a 'protection' from Lt. General Drummond, (109) and returned safely to Govan where further adventures awaited him.

What were the motives of these men? Continuity between earlier radicalism and Pentland is obvious in the cases of Calhoun and Patterson. Calhoun had been indicted with Porterfield, Grahame and Spreule on 6 June 1662 for the alleged attack on Drumlarrig House in 1650. Patterson had been on Porterfield's last Council. He was forced to renounce the Remonstrance with the Porterfieldians in 1660. (110) Such men represent the underground remnant of lay radicalism in Glasgow. Like their military leader, Colonel James Wallace, they had not been involved in the spontaneous outbreak at Dalry, and must have joined the Galloway men out of conviction. They were among those who took the Covenant at Lanark on 27 November, with Dalryell's troopers on their heels. This 'Declaration' was naturally rushed and its references to the Covenants rather vague. (111) Yet in their farewell addresses, the Glasgow men - and indeed all the victims, including an English clothier at Ayr, Ralph Shields - show consistency of principle. Their consciousness of purpose and nobility

(109) MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1663-82. p.99; V. *Infra*, p.278.

(110) V. *Supra*, p.205; *Baillie*, III, 448.

(111) The 'Declaration at Lanark is printed in William Crookshank, The history of the state and sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution, (Edinburgh, 1812), I, 178-9.

of expression prove them exceptions to Rothes' generalisation of 'mean beggarlie fellows'.(112) Wodrow enthuses that Calhoun spoke on the scaffold not like an 'ordinary townsman but like one in the suburbs of heaven',(113) which in effect he was.

The Lanark Declaration insisted that no rebellion against the King was intended. The martyrs reiterate this - Thomas Patterson said that after all petitions and private complaints against the suppression of their kirk, and all oppressions, were ignored or banned, they had followed 'the example of all the oppressed Kirks of Jesus Christ, and of our noble ancestors' and taken up

'the sword of necessary self defence, from the rage and fury of these wicked and violent men, until we might make our heavy grievances known to his majesty, and obtain from his justice a satisfying memory'.(114)

That the Covenant and Presbyterianism were central to these men is evident from all the farewells. In John Wodrow's letter to his wife he declared

'The thing I suffer for is the covenanted reformation. I blesse God, and all that is within me doth bless and magnify his holy name for this, that Scotland did ever enter into a covenant with the Lord - And I have now sworn and renewed this covenant again for myself and you, and my four children in all the parts and points thereof; and I pray, God help you to abide in the covenant for ever'.(115)

These were more than personal covenants - Calhoun said

(112) Rothes to Lauderdale, 6 December 1666, Lauderdale Papers, I, 253-4.

(113) Wodrow, History, II, 58.

(114) [James Stewart of Goodtrees and James Stirling], Naphtali ... or the wrestlings of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to 1667, (Edinburgh, 1761), p.312. (First published, Edinburgh 1667)

(115) Ibid., p.361.

'I die with this my testimony, and my adhearance to the National Covenant, to the Solemn League and Covenant, to the work of reformation a great length carried on, and now overthrown most sinfully by ungodly men who have established their apostasy by law, which no just power on earth could ever do'.(116)

John Wilson swore the Covenant 'four times, and the last time at Lanark which was the sweetest time of them all to me'.(117) One hopes that the unsporting practice of beating drums during farewell addresses did not interupt these masterpieces.(118)

Thus for some Glasgow men, Pentland was indeed a Presbyterian Crusade,(119) and although Covenanter mythology tends to exaggerate the importance of their battles, the campaign ended in an honourable defeat, not a rout, despite Dalyell's superior forces and wind and weather. In particular, the Pentlanders included a vanguard of committed moderate idealists who demand respect, despite Rothes' sneer of 'damd ffulles who hes antisipat ther

(116) Ibid., p.365-6.

(117) Ibid., p.368.

(118) Memoirs of Blackader, op.cit., I, 131. This practice was instigated at Glasgow, probably by Burnet.

(119) I.B. Cowan questions the importance of the actual Covenants in the Pentland Rising, and would stress rather the injustices of the Restoration Church settlement and government policy, as causes of grievance. See I.B. Cowan, The Scottish Covenanters, 1660-88, p.66. Julia Buckroyd would stress the dynamic of social and economic pressures in the Rising, claiming that Wodrow's explanation of self defence by persecuted Presbyterians is only part of the answer. See 'Rullion Green in retrospect', The Scotsman, 15 January 1977. Certainly 'death speeches' may exaggerate zeal and piety, and Calhoun was allegedly a bankrupt, but the determination of the fanatic should not be dismissed entirely.

tyme of raysing'(120) - many of them exceeded the Earl in literacy, expression and principle.

However although the Glasgow Pentlanders give a valuable insight into the Rising, one must concede that Glasgow was in no way behind the venture. The caution of the city leaders and the vigilance of Burnet ensured this. The most significant support for Pentland locally came from outside the city with the Renfrewshire lairds of 'Caldwell's Rising' - who included George Porterfield's relatives, the Porterfields of Quarrelton, and a less than enthusiastic John Carstaires. This group of some fifty horse could have been valuable at Rullion Green, but they failed to rendezvous with the main body of Pentlanders. They were betrayed later by John Maxwell of Blackston. Their estates went to Dalyell and Drummond:(121) this hardened local opposition to Government policy.

Of course Burnet(122) and Rothes hailed the Rising as a vindication of their fears, and advised precautions against a wider outbreak. Rothes inspected the West Country, and was enraged to find that only the humbler fanatics were available for trial and execution, although 'not the hundrid person of the cominallitie ... bewast

(120) Rothes to Lauderdale: 17 December 1666. Lauderdale Papers, I, 263.

(121) See Wodrow, History, II, 28; 72-6; 330; 'Notices of Colonel Wallace' in Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson, op.cit., p.374, and 'Wallace Narrative of the Rising at Pentland' in Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson, op.cit., pp.420-4, for details of Caldwell's Rising.

(122) On 8 December 1666 Burnet told Sheldon '... your grace will see how little I have failed in my unhappy predictions'. Lauderdale Papers, II, xlii-xliii.

Glescaue' could be trusted.(123) Of course in Glasgow and the Regality, Burnet and his curates took stern measures against returning Pentland men. The case of the Govan man, Robert Steill, who survived both the battle and arrest, receiving some sort of protection from Lt. General Drummond,(124) shows the difficulties of rehabilitation in Burnet's country. On his return to Govan, Steill had the temerity to supplicate the Glasgow Presbytery for the benefit of marriage on 17 January, 1667. However, they found him to be a

'rebellious persone in rysing up in the late rebellion agt the King therfor they appoint him to compeir befor the congregatioune of Govan ... to give evidence of his repenting of his offence befor he obtaine the benefitt of marriage and take the oath of alledgance that he shall never in all tyme coming rise up in rebellious agt. the King'.(125)

Steill refused to conform and boldly attempted to bribe the Session Clerk of Govan into writing him a

'testimoniall to be married at Glasgow qlk the clerk would not doe whereupon ... Steill did counterfeit the hand wryt of the ... clerk ... in a testamoniall and delivered it to Mr. Alexr Milne yrupon to be married'.(126)

Milne detected the forgery at once, and committed Steill to the civil magistrate. By April Steill was fugitive, and despite interrogation of his proposed spouse, he remained at large in June 1667, when he disappears from the records.(127)

This problem of marriage for recusants beyond the

(123) Lauderdale Papers, I, 265.

(124) MSS Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1663-82, p.99.

(125) Ibid., 96.

(126) Ibid., p.103.

(127) MSS Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1663-82, pp.107; 105.

reach of a 'sympathetic' minister was serious enough for two servants of Commissar Fleming to successfully bribe the Glasgow Presbytery Clerk, William Anderson, to erase incriminating entries regarding their 'scandell of disquainting the ordinances' from the Minute Book to allow them to apply for benefit of marriage. This caused a great furore - the Minutes were scrutinised by Burnet and all recent marriages checked. Anderson was sacked on 4 September 1667, only to be re-admitted on 1 October after abject apologies - there must have been a shortage of clerks willing to serve Caiaphas.(128) In another attempt to avoid the dragnet, George Lockhart crossed the Border to get married, but the Presbytery found out, and he was fined in October 1667.(129)

The Glasgow churchmen made great efforts to control their home ground after Pentland. In particular Burnet's most promising disciples, James Ramsay and Arthur Ross were grooming themselves for bishoprics. After his triumph at Pentland Ramsay followed up the good work by collaborating with the 'General of the King's Militia' in organising a census of all recusants in the Presbytery on 20 February 1667.(130) Not to be outdone, Burnet demanded a list of all 'within the bonds of this presbrie did join with the late rebellious agt his Matie and returned home again'.(131) He was very suspicious of contacts with Ireland, having previously confirmed liason

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(128) *Ibid.*, pp.108; 111; 114; 116; 121; 125.

(129) *Ibid.*, p.124.

(130) *Ibid.*, p.99.

(131) *Ibid.*, p.105.

between Ulster and the Covenanters:(132) thus when a local man, James Lees, was rumoured to be on his way home, arrangements were made to take him before Presbytery in January 1667.(133)

However all these efforts had little effect in controlling local dissent after Pentland. John Blackader reports that conventicles 'were never so numerous and public as they were after ... Pentland particularly and first in Edinburgh, where in many houses at once there would have been several rooms full at a time'.(134) In the Glasgow area numerous recusants were summoned before Presbytery in early January 1667, after a conventicle at Cathcart.(135) After a lull - possibly encouraged by the emergence of conciliation - there was a spate of house conventicles in Eaglesham, Blackwoodhill, Hags and Provand in the Autumn.(136)

In fact the warlords of Pentland soon found they had achieved a pyhhric victory. Resentment smouldered in the West, and more seriously, suspicions of their techniques and policies were germinating at Court. Although Dalzell and Drummond had been admitted to Privy Council on 3 January 1667,(137) the Bishops were becoming insecure. As early as 12 January Burnet told Sheldon that they were 'much alarmed with the reports that have beene vented

(132) See 'Burnet to Sheldon: 18 April 1665', Lauderdale Papers, II, xix.

(133) MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1663-82, p.115.

(134) Memoirs of Blackader, op.cit., p.135.

(135) MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1663-82, pp.94-7. Hugh Blair, minister of Cathcart gave a list of offenders to the Alliance's friend Linlithgow.

(136) Ibid., pp.128; 132-3.

(137) R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., II, 241-2.

of his 'Maties dis-satisfaction with us and our order' (138) because they had heard rumours that they were not going to be allowed to supplicate the Court.

This proved to be a false alarm, and after attending the Convention of Estates of 23 January 1667 to raise funds for the Army and Dutch War, Burnet went to London with Drummond to press for a continuation of the standing army and the harshest methods against refusers of the Declaration - the iron test of loyalty. He returned on 12 March with a list of punitive policies, including powers to tender the oath of allegiance to disaffected persons and secure refusers; disarm the disaffected shires, seizing serviceable horse; (139) provide arms for defence, to be paid for from taxation; secure ministers from assault, and investigate all heritors, preachers and military officers associated with the late rebellion. (140)

In June, the Privy Council issued proclamations making heritors and parishioners liable for all damages inflicted on ministers. (141) This principle of corporate responsibility was very useful, and was to be constantly re-iterated in policy and fining. Privy Council also

(138) Lauderdale Papers, II, xliv.

(139) Government policy towards security in the disaffected shires of Ayr, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Lanark and Renfrew underwent rapid convolutions in the midst of the Pentland crisis - on 21 November all shires were instructed to raise all fencible men except the South Western five - which had already theoretically been disarmed. Yet on 23 November they ordered the Western Heritors to assemble for action. By 1 December they were ordering Hamilton to seize all rebels or accessories, with their arms. After Rothes' survey, they maintained a rigid policy against trusting the heritors until the olive branch of the Bond. (See R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., II, 216; 222; 229).

(140) Wodrow, History, II, 82-3.

(141) Ibid., 86.

received a royal letter pressing for rigid forfeiture of prominent Pentland refugees at the Justiciary Court of 15 August 1667.(142) All this suggests that the 'Forward Policy' of repression was still in full sway, but events were moving quickly; policy was in transition.

An early sign of this transition may be seen in the Privy Council's Report on the Pentland Prisoners, which arranged them in four classes leaving loopholes for all but the most unregenerate.(143) Burnet could see other dangerous signs of leniency. By 9 August 1667 he was exasperated at the failure to fully implement his 'Instructions' from the King and the legislation of June. He told Sheldon in despair

'I have waited here for two months and upwards and cannot observe the least privity or enclination in persons of trust to pursue those orders which his Matie was pleased to transmit by me.'(144)

Even the anticipated forfeiture of the rebels at large did not cheer him, for he found an unwillingness among many, apart from Linlithgow and Dumfries, to act as assessors: 'others may eat the kernel but will be unwilling to crack the shell'.(145)

In fact his fears, as usual, were justifiable, for new persons were entering 'trust', and an attempt at conciliation under new leadership was pending. Sharp was already out of favour; Rothes' how was nigh, and Sir Robert Moray had come up to join the Scottish

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(142) Wodrow, History, II, 84-7.

(143) Ibid., 88.

(144) Lauderdale Papers, II, xlvi.

(145) Ibid., xlvi.

Government to co-ordinate the new policy with Tweedale and the moderates. Clarendon had fallen in England, and the Dutch War concluded in August: thus the standing army could be disbanded, both to appease the Covenanters and save money. The forward policy was at a standstill, and Burnet felt that 'the gospel would go out of his diocese'. (146)

In all the events and struggles of the Pentland affair and its repercussions, Glasgow - as a corporate body - was impotent. With the removal of John Bell's clique, Burnet had his own way in the rule of the city. In any case Bell's party would have acquiesced in Burnet's principles - they objected rather to the secondary role in burgh control now allotted to the Council. (147)

Opposition to the Holy Alliance therefore came from individuals - the merchants martyred at Edinburgh, and the recusants and conventiclers of neighbouring parishes, such as bold Robert Steill. This is not surprising, with the Porterfieldians dispersed and the radical leadership broken. Yet the basis of a new opposition was being laid - Dowhill younger had witnessed the persecution of his father-in-law for example - and despite the defeat at Pentland conventicling was on the increase. The forward policy in Glasgow had failed to exterminate dissent, and after mid 1667 Burnet was to be on the defensive.

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(146) Wodrow, *History*, II, 89.

(147) This secondary role was of course in church affairs and high politics - the burgh politicians were very busy in domestic and mercantile affairs. These are discussed separately in Chapter IX, partly to give continuity to the complicated affairs of church and state, and partly because there was even less 'party' influence on local affairs in this period.

**"The Politics and Society of Glasgow: 1648-1674"**

**Part three: Restoration Glasgow, 1660-74**

**Chapter VIII 'Then worlds of hid things will throng  
forth': the reversal of the Forward  
Policy, and the effects of Conciliation  
in Glasgow, 1667-74**

'But of these and all other grievances by the mis-  
government of civil and military affaires we shall  
not know the bottom till the great Buckler, the  
Commission, be taken away, and then worlds of hid  
things will throng forth.' - The Lauderdale Papers,  
II, 20

The First Conciliation Policy directed towards the Covenanters after June 1667 aimed to solve two key problems - firstly to preserve the peace in South West Scotland economically and effectively and secondly to bring the moderate Covenanters (at least) back into the Church. Obviously the problems were inter-related. The ultimate design of the policy was not only to stabilise Scottish affairs, but to present Charles II with a power base to further his position and prerogative in England.(1) The Policy had important repercussions in Glasgow, because Burnet - aided by James Ramsay and Arthur Ross - maintained a typical rear-guard defence of the policies of the Holy Alliance. In the process he discovered his true friends in burgh politics.

The Policy demanded as a prerequisite the appointment of moderates to Government and the demotion of failed reactionaries. Sir Robert Moray was sent north by Lauderdale to establish the new policy, and he found eager support in Tweeddale and Kincardine. The new regime's first victims were Sharp and Rothes. The Primate was rapped sharply on the knuckles for his duplicity in negotiations with Lauderdale and the King. He was rather obsequiously committed to Lauderdale's camp

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(1) See Maurice Lee, Jr., The Cabal, (Urbana, Illinois, 1965) pp.28-69, for an interesting discussion of Lauderdale's long term policies. Lee claims that Lauderdale allowed the Holy Alliance 'rope' with which to hang themselves, before convincing the King that he should control affairs. Conciliation of the Covenanters was to be followed by political union with England. However Lee suggests that by the time conciliation was attempted the Covenanters had been irrevocably alienated from episcopacy and a 'moderate' settlement of compromise.

thereafter. In some respects his greatest significance after 1667 revolved around the attempts on his life in 1668 and 1679. The first abortive attempt by James Mitchell delayed the First Indulgence, and the culmination of the First Conciliation Policy until June 1669. The second, successful, attempt on Magus Moor sparked off the Drumclog Rising. The significance of Sharp's office remained even when he personally had become a tool of Government. His cruel fate does little for the reputation of the extreme Covenanters.

Roths lost both his offices - the Commissionership and the Treasury - to Lauderdale's friends by September 1667. He had been aware of his impending 'demotion' to the Chancellorship since early June, and tried every means to evade it.(2) However the moderates were determined to curb the licence he allowed the Generals. Moray warned Lauderdale on 9 July 1667 that Roth's 'lyked sogeris above all other ways of living',(3) and insisted that the full extent of misgovernment of civil and military affairs would not be revealed 'till the great Buckler, the commission, be taken away, and then worlds of hid things will throng forth'.(4) When the Holy Alliance stressed the perils of new risings and the downfall of episcopacy in their efforts to maintain the military, the moderates counteracted with reports of 'grievous enormities' committed by troops near Dundee, and Moray assured Lauderdale 'Now, certainly, immediately upon the

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(2) Lauderdale Papers, II, 3-4. He conceded defeat on 7 September - see Ibid., 44.

(3) Lauderdale Papers, II, 19.

(4) Ibid., 20.

assurance of peace, the King will easily part with a Comr and Generalls. And certainly the sooner the better for his service and the good of all things you wish well to here'.(5)

They won - with the end of the Dutch War, the standing Army in Scotland was disbanded by royal edict on 13 August 1667. The Warlords were to be replaced by a cheaper and more docile militia, until their services were required again when Lauderdale himself despaired of moderation.

Alexander Burnett remained entrenched in Glasgow viewing the difficulties overtaking the Holy Alliance gloomily. In June 1667 he had insisted to Privy Council that 'Kinglie government' must share the responsibility for disaffection with ecclesiastical government.(6) Not surprisingly, by 23 September, 'Longifacies'(7) was complaining to Sheldon's secretary of a 'great designe to blast or breake me' at Court. A month later he mourned to Sheldon: 'I have nothing left me now to support my reputan or spirit here but the opinion some worthy persons have of your Grs/kyndness and respect to me;'.(8) Although he kept his See for another two years, Burnet was becoming very much of an outsider: unlike Sharp, he refused to bow to the forces of real politik.

The situation in Glasgow remained tense. Resistance to government policy was persistent in surrounding districts despite the prospect of conciliation. There

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid., 9.

(7) Longifacies was the Lauderdale group's nickname for Burnet.

(8) Lauderdale Papers, II, Appendix A, li; lii.

was a strong connection between this dissent and a minority group within the city, led by members of the Anderson family. As conventicling became rife in the Glasgow area, William Anderson's Council became increasingly estranged from Burnet and his inner circle of curates: this was to culminate in a purge of the Council in the elections of 1669. After Pentland Glasgow's civic leaders were under pressure from the Government to support their twin policies of control, the militia and the Bond of Peace. These policies were despised by Burnet and the Holy Alliance, which probably weakened the Government's local influence and led to an element of uncertainty and insecurity in Glasgow.

The Bond of Peace was formulated in September 1667 as an alternative to conformity with the emotive Declaration and Oath of Allegiance: details included bonds of cash to be forfeit on any disturbance within the heritors' respective jurisdictions. A ban on the possession of arms, or horse above the value of £60 was to be enforced.(9) Burnet, Hamilton and Rothes opposed the Privy Council's Report, but the King approved it on 1 October 1667. There was widespread resistance to the Bond in the Glasgow area, where the gentry were alienated by its terms and the continued imprisonment of their friends, Pollok, Cunninghamhead and Cheisly.(10) Thus on 4 December 1667 the heritors and feuars of the Barony of Glasgow failed to convene to take the Bond, and the Privy Council had to appoint Montrose and the unenthusiastic

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(9) Wodrow, History, II, 90-1.

(10) Ibid., 99.

Burnet to see it done by 1 January 1668.(11)

The militia which replaced the standing army as a basic security force was not of course a new concept. The Scottish Parliament had offered to provide a militia for the King in 1663,(12) although Whitehall did not express great interest until after the fright of Pentland. However the militia plans were delayed with the passing of the Dutch emergency associated with Pentland, despite the support of the Moderate Party, who saw the force as a means with dispensing with the influence of the warlords of Muscovy.(13) The attempted assassination of Honeyman and Sharp in Edinburgh on 11 July 1668 finally jolted the London Government into activity, and instructions for the defence of the West arrived with the Privy Council on 2 September 1668.(14) Glasgow was of course often garrisoned as an obvious base for forays against dissenters: 2 companies of foot and fifteen horse were quartered in town on 4 June 1668(15) after rumours of local conventicles.(16)

However the raising of the militia was rather embarrassing for William Anderson. He was commissioned, together with one of the Bailies, to raise the local force, but the burgh was less than eager to fulfil its commitments, not perhaps so much on principle as in terms of

(11) Ibid., 106.

(12) A.P.S., VII, 480.

(13) Lauderdale Papers, II, 35.

(14) R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., II, 500.

(15) Ibid., 474; Wodrow, History, II, 110.

(16) Ibid., 519; 522-3. There were continual rumours of new risings in the late summer of 1668. See also, Burnet to Sheldon, 11 August 1668. Lauderdale Papers, II, Appendix A, lxiii-lxiv.

cost. Anderson was sent to petition the Privy Council on 12 September 1668, with particular reference to the coal and candle required by the guard.(17) Again, in January 1669 the magistrates were attempting to farm out the maintenance of the horse.(18) In general, Wodrow claims that 'this unnecessary raising of the militia, was a very heavy tax upon many of the smaller heritors':(19) they had to send a horse and groom, making special efforts to do so, while the rich merely drew on their existing household. The Government were thus unable to please anyone with regard to the militia, but they could scarcely leave the West unpoliced.

In brief, the opening round of the Conciliation Policy met with a very mixed reception in Glasgow and the West. So it was to prove in even greater measure with the subsequent Indulgences, although they had the possible virtue - to Government - of sparking off yet another series of factions within the Covenanting movement. Although the hawks of Burnet's group could only be alarmed by the apparent encouragement Conciliation was giving to Dissent, even at this stage Conciliation was accompanied by repression, in a pattern which intensified in the years of Lauderdale's 'personal government' of Scotland. Maurice Lee has indeed suggested that Lauderdale gave the Bishops too much freedom to persecute,(20) and that alienation against their order and its methods had gone too far for limited

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(17) Glasgow Records, III, 111.

(18) Ibid., 114.

(19) Wodrow, History, II, 118-9.

(20) V.Supra, p.284, f.n.1.

overtures of compromise to redress the balance.

On the other hand Burnet's views are understandable - a conscientious, if myopic, man, he could only see a mounting storm of dissent converging from the remoter fastnesses of his diocese to the gates of his very cathedral city of Glasgow, concurrent with the rise of Conciliation and the Bond of Peace. In October 1667 Jon Bryson of Eaglesham kept a house conventicle, at which several children were baptised. There were other conventicles at Blackwoodhill, Haggs and Provan Hall in the Barony - and these were only the gatherings reported to the Presbytery.(21) The conventiclers of Eaglesham and Provan refused to appear before Presbytery,(22) and the ministers were still attempting to prosecute the latter case in January 1668. Resistance to the curates was widespread.(23)

The Glasgow magistrates on the other hand were caught in the crossfire between the Government, Bishops and Dissent. They had to support the militia and the Bond of Peace. They had to attempt suppression of conventicles. Yet their friends and relatives in outlying districts were the victims of such policies. William Anderson had come to power because John Bell had clashed with Burnet over local hegemony, but in fact Bell was far more suited to the job of keeping order in Glasgow and suppressing extremes of dissent.

Life for burgh magistrates soon became even more difficult. Although the Bishops had lost influence, the Government still felt it necessary to 'soften' them a little.

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(21) S.R.A., T-PRES, MSS. Records of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 1663-82, p.128.

(22) Ibid., pp.132-3.

(23) Ibid., p.140.

by new legislation.<sup>(24)</sup> Privy Council devised an ingenious way of pressurising burgh magistrates to subdue conventicling - in effect putting them on a par with country heritors under the Bond of Peace. The magistrates had to give bond to pay certain fines to the Council if conventicles were held within their jurisdiction - they could recoup their losses from the offenders.

Edinburgh - under the reactionary Sir Andrew Ramsay - gave a lead in this respect on 29 July 1668.<sup>(25)</sup> There is no record of Glasgow following suit - perhaps the Anderson Council resisted such pressure, and were at last making a stand on principle - certainly Burnet had no more use for William Anderson by October 1669. On 2 March 1669 Edinburgh was fined for a conventicle.<sup>(26)</sup>

Although the curates did their best to keep the authorities posted on conventicling, it was often too late to catch the offenders. Thus measures against recusancy, clandestine marriages and baptisms were stepped up in the first half of 1669. A committee of Privy Council met to organise this offensive on 18 February - it included Burnet, Sharp and Hamilton as well as the Moderates. Their work resulted in an Act of 4 March laying on a new range of penalties for recusancy and associated offences - heritors were liable to lose one-fourth of their annual rent; tenants faced fines of £100 and six weeks imprisonment, and cotters £20 plus the imprisonment. Sheriffs and bailies had to enforce these

(24) Wodrow, History, II, 120.

(25) Ibid., 110-11.

(26) Ibid., 120-1.

penalties. (27) The commissioners of the militia - who included Glasgow's civic chiefs - had to check on all conventicles and disorderly baptisms since November 1668, taking bonds from offenders, and hauling them before Privy Council if necessary. Evaders were to be billeted with militia at a cost of 18/- per day for each trooper, and 3/- sterling for each officer. (28) Soldiers were to be dispatched to the West in case the local militia lacked zeal. Collectors of fines for non conformity were appointed and 'Duke Hamilton was allowed to appoint whom he pleased for Lanarkshire': Wodrow drily comments it was unsound to give 'the wolf the wether to keep'. (29) Yet the collectors had limited success - the sheriffs did not back them fully and 'they wanted a numerous army to back them ... military execution brevi manu is not yet allowed'. (30) Burnet made his contribution to discipline by prevailing on Sir John Cochrane 'to exert himself in a very particular way against the presbyterian ministers in his diocese' (31) - a great coup, as Cochran, although an old ally of the establishment, had lately been associated with the moderates.

Their harrying had some success in Glasgow. On 3 June 1669 the Council authorised the Archbishop and Provost of Glasgow 'to try who were at a conventicle lately kept in that city, what quality they were of, who were present, and how they stand affected to the government,

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(27) Ibid., 121. See also a similar Act of 27 May 1669 in N.L.S., Wodrow Qt. CIX, letter 74.

(28) Wodrow, History, II, 121-2.

(29) Ibid., 123.

(30) Ibid.

(31) Ibid.

and report'. (32) On 11 June 1669 Privy Council issued

'a summons against Mr Andrew Mortoun, late minister at Carmunock and Mr James Hamilton, late minister at Blantyre for holding meetings at Glasgow in Saltmerkatt on 31st May 1669, and in the fields near Castletoun place on the same day; at which meetings were present also John Craig, merchant in Glasgow, John Drew called Bang John, John Clerk, Robert Fork and Patrick McClellan, all merchants there, and John Scott, elder, baker in Glasgow'. (33)

The laymen appear to have no connection with earlier dissent in Glasgow. On 24 June 1669 Fork and McClellan appeared before the Council, promising to be of good behaviour in future 'and acknowledging of thaire sorrow that they were at the conventicle and denied that ever they ware at any before that tyme'. (34) John Drew successfully petitioned that his case be heard at the Council's last July meeting, but Mortoun and the other absentees were to be cited at the mercat cross of their head burgh. (35) Their arrest came after activity by informers - the 'curates' spies' had been at work.

Privy Council's main victim was James Hamilton, outed minister of Blantyre (not to be confused with James Hamilton of Eaglesham, a former victim of the curates, soon to be indulged). The Conventicle had been held in his house. He admitted openly that he had held a meeting but refused to divulge details of the attendance. When upbraided with accusations of betraying Burnet's trust in

(32) Ibid., 127.

(33) R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., III, 626-7.

(34) Ibid., 631. Kincardine told Lauderdale that they 'were but poöre and simple fellows' Lauderdale Papers, II, 135.

(35) V. Infra, p.309 for details of Morton's further adventures.

allowing him to remain in Glasgow, he replied that he had been threatened with great violence by the Bishop if he did not conform. He refused to give an assurance that he would confine his preaching to the family circle, and was sent back to prison, where he remained until his brother, Sir Robert Hamilton of Silvertonhill secured his release on bond, due to ill health. (36)

This fairly severe offensive against recusants and activist outed ministers formed the background for a new olive branch - the First Indulgence of 7 June 1669, which aimed to find a place for the more moderate outed ministers within the Church. Wodrow suggested that the Indulgence has been over emphasised, (37) and indeed it did come amidst continued persecution of dissent. Yet it was for its time a generous measure, and deserves sympathy. This second great wing of the Conciliation Policy was intended as a positive accompaniment to the replacement of the standing army by militia and the Bond of Peace. It owed much to the influence of John, Earl of Tweeddale, and Robert Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane. It was of course consistently opposed by Alexander Burnet.

Heading the list of the indulged was Ralph Rodger, former minister of the Cathedral Kirk of Glasgow. Rodger went to Kilwinning, out of Burnet's immediate reach. Eventually some 42 ministers were indulged, many of them in the West Country. (38) The only other representative

(36) Wodrow, History, II, 127-8. Although he may have been involved in a subsequent conventicle at Kirkintilloch in February 1670 (see R.P.C. Soct., 3rd ser., III, 132) James Hamilton was indulged at Avendale on 3 September 1672. Fasti, III, 227.

(37) Wodrow, History, II, 129.

(38) Ibid., 132-4.

of the Glasgow Presbytery now brought back was James Hamilton of Eaglesham, who had resisted Presbytery so stoutly in 1663: he was indulged at Eaglesham on 30 September. (39)

Wodrow says that on the whole the Indulgence was quite popular, until the banished brethren of Holland thundered forth against it 'perhaps at first upon misinformations ... This began a flame, which, by degrees, rose to a very great height'. (40) It was of course an erastian measure, and Kirkton for example regarded it as

'a bitter fruit of a bitter root the royal supremacy, whereby ministers were obtruded upon diverse congregations upon the consent of the patron without respect to the call of the people'. (41)

But in practical terms the only quarter from which the Presbyterians could expect any restoration of their ecclesiastical privileges, without war, was civil government: this was the erastian snare, which had trapped the Kirkmen from the suppression of their Assembly by the Commonwealth authorities in 1653 onwards. However this snare could cull other than presbyterian prey. Its Restoration form, the royal supremacy, was to be used to rid Lauderdale's group of Burnet, who stuck to his principles as usual, and blatantly opposed the Indulgence. Burnet's last stand was to bring Glasgow

(39) Hamilton filled a vacancy left by the death of Andrew Walker. He remained in the charge until his death in 1685. Donald Cargill, former minister of Barony Kirk refused an indulgence at Eaglesham as colleague to Hamilton in 1672. Fasti, III, 387.

(40) Wodrow, History, II, 135.

(41) Kirkton, History, p.290.

back into the fray, and enliven its domestic politics, which had been fairly subdued since 1664.

At the meeting of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr in September 1669, Burnet's henchmen, James Ramsay and Arthur Ross put forward a Remonstrance which criticised Government interference in ecclesiastical affairs and laxity in persecuting the Dissenters - whose 'minions look upon our confusion as their harvest'.(42) The Remonstrance was a precise statement of episcopacy's problems in Scotland - with Dalyell, Drummond and Turner left out. It caused an uproar.

Lauderdale told the King on 12 October 'That countrey is unluckie, it seems they wil be remonstrators by what name or title soever they are distinguishat'.(43) The King agreed 'that this damned paper shewes Bishops and Episcopall people are as bad on this chapter as the most arrant Presbyterian or Remonstrator'.(44) On 16 October Privy Council declared the paper to be positively dangerous, and it was banned.(45) To strengthen the arm of the state, an 'Act asserting his majesties supremacie over all persons and in all causes Ecclesiastical' was rushed through Parliament on 16 November 1669.(46) Burnet had to go,(47) and on 2 December royal

(42) Lauderdale Papers, II, Appendix A, lxv.

(43) Ibid., II, 139.

(44) Ibid., 141.

(45) R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., III, 84.

(46) A.P.S., VII, 554. Lauderdale told Charles II 'never was King sae absolute as you are in poor old Scotland'. Lauderdale Papers, II, 164.

(47) For discussion of the grounds of Burnet's dismissal see Julia Buckroyd, 'The dismissal of Archbishop Alexander Burnet, 1669', Recs. Scot. Church Hist. Soc., xviii, pt.2 (1973) pp.149-55. Ms. Buckroyd stresses the role of the Remonstrance rather than opposition

instructions required him to demit the See immediately or face prosecution. Sharp initially resisted Lauderdale's request that the clergy should draw up the terms of demission, telling the Earl 'faintly something like the indelibility of his character'. Lauderdale brutally told him

'...I would not dispute that, But that I was sure the exercise of Archb., Bp or minister was ... not Jure Divino but depended solely on the supreme Magistrat. Let him be Archbishop in the Catholique church, I should not dispute it; But if he demitt, he must demitt all office and benefice as to Glasgow.'(48)

Sharp submitted.

On 6 January 1670 Privy Council were informed that Burnet had demitted, and his name was erased from the roll.(49) He received a pension of £300 sterling yearly, and retired quietly to England until his recall to Glasgow in 1674. Throughout his behaviour was studiously dignified, unlike that of Sharp. Burnet told Sheldon 'I bless God most men here think my integrity is my greatest crime. Now I am laid aside as ane uselesse and unprofitable person',(50) as he prepared to resign on 24 December.

That Burnet was a scapegoat is evident from the lenient treatment of his colleagues Ramsay and Ross - on 6 January, Council heard their apologies and pardoned

to the Act of Supremacy as the reason for Burnet's fall. Dr Lamb stressed the latter. See J.A. Lamb, 'Archbishop Alexander Burnet, 1614-84' Recs. Scot. Church Hist. Soc., xi, (1955), p.138.

(48) Lauderdale to Moray, 16 December 1669. Lauderdale Papers, II, 171-2.

(49) Ibid., 175; R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., III, 116.

(50) Burnet to Sheldon, 24 December 1669, Lauderdale Papers, II, Appendix A, lxviii.

them.(51) They were of course Burnet's hand-picked disciples, but their careers suffered no setback as a result of the Remonstrance: both were soon Bishops. In Lauderdale's address to the Parliament - a Parliament essentially called to deal with the greater matter of the projected Union - he had made a pointed promise that the King would secure

'the ancient Government by Bishops and Archbishops as it is now happily settled, as a sure fence for the true reformed Protestant Religion, A Government most suteable to Monarchy. And employ his utmost power in the maintenance of that Government, and will protect the persons of my Lords, the Archbishops and Bishops, and of the loyal, Orthodox and peacable Clergy in the exercise of their functions: He will not endure those numerous and unlawful Conventicles which tend to sedition and schism, which have been too frequent in some few shires of this kingdome'.(52)

Thus concurrent with the very Act of Supremacy came a militia act, approving previous provisions and providing penalties of impounding the goods of absentees from the musters.(53) So it was to continue in 1670 and beyond, with stern measures accompanying concessions such as the Indulgences - while the

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(51) R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., III, 116.

(52) The speech of his Grace, the Earl of Lauderdale, His Majesties High-Commissioner for the Parliament of Scotland, 19 Oct. 1669 (Savoy, London: Thos. Newcomb, 1669) pp.4-5.

(53) A.P.S., VII, 554-5.

Covenanters for their part continued to ignore or even harass the curates, and flock to conventicles, not only in the South West, but increasingly in Fife and Lothian.

Burnet's last stand had direct repercussions in Glasgow politics, for as the Archbishop prepared to criticise the Government, he took strong measures to secure his power base in Glasgow by purging the Burgh Council. No positive evidence is available to date his break with William Anderson, but by the Autumn of 1669 Burnet obviously felt the need for a stronger group to head city government and subdue the rising wave of dissent in the burgh and its neighbourhood - not that the Anderson Councils had been particularly radical as yet, for at no time between the fall of the Porterfield Council in March 1652 and the triumph of Dowhill younger in 1689-90 was city government dominated by a genuine reformist group - although this is not to discount minority radical continuity, and a persistent line of dissent stretching from former Porterfield men,

such as John Johnston and Patrick Bryce, to the Fentland Martyrs and eventually Dowhill younger himself.

All seemed well for William Anderson as late as 25 September 1668, when he was chosen as burgh commissioner to the Convention of Burghs and the Parliament, with all the expenses previously awarded to John Bell in this capacity. (54) Yet on 2 October Anderson instigated suspicious preliminaries to the election, filling vacancies on the Council caused by the deaths of Manasses Lyall and Robert Scot, and the non-attendance of John Gilhagie. To replace them, John Anderson - the Provost's brother - and two clients of the Provost's, John Wood and John Listoune, tanners, were elected. (55) William Anderson obviously anticipated a challenge to his rule and was strengthening his faction. This was to no avail - on 5 October Burnet nominated James Campbell, the prominent Bellite, as Provost. (56)

As always, the change of Provost permitted a wholesale purge of the city government, but there was now a delay in electing the Council, for in reaction to Campbell's nomination, only five of the quorum of twelve required to form the 'electoral college' appeared - Dowhill elder and John Miller accompanying the Provost and two of the Bailies. They invited Dowhill younger and six Bellites to complete the preces. (57) As a result of the elections a total of

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(54) Glasgow Records, III, 122.

(55) Ibid. Wood and Listoune had been supported by William Anderson's Council when Dean of Guild Frederick Hamilton had abused them in 1665. V.Supra, p.248; V.Infra, pp.330-t.

(56) Glasgow Records, III, 123.

(57) Ibid., 123-4.

twenty changes in office occurred. John Barnes elder; John Barnes younger; Colin Campbell younger; James Campbell younger; Robert Campbell; James Colquhoun and Frederick Hamilton were among the Bellite stalwarts now restored. John Bell himself returned as an ordinary Councillor.(58) Old disputes over the Dean of Guildship and Deacon Conventership were raked up by Frederick Hamilton and John Miller respectively.(59) Hamilton had of course lost the Dean of Guild's office in 1665 for his abuse of the tanners, John Listounne and John Wood - the men brought on to the Council at the last minute before the current election by William Anderson. The threads of intrigue run deep - changes of office invariably involve personal feuds as well as high politics. In this case the contravened offices went to Dowhill younger and William Wallace, as 'neutrals' in the disputes.(60)

The new regime of October 1669 were determined to secure their lease of power. By April 1670 James Campbell had taken steps to secure freedom of elections for the burgh (i.e. freedom to return Bellites without interference from Government on the new Archbishop, Leighton) Finding that 'some persones had stopped him' in Edinburgh, he was encouraged by his Council to raise summons against the obstructors.(61) On 10 May Dowhill younger was sent to London to petition the King for freedom of elections. His remit was soon extended to include a plea for burgh control of the 'bailliarie and barronye

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(58) See Appendix I for all election data.

(59) Glasgow Records, III, 124.

(60) Ibid.

(61) Ibid., 131-2.

of Glasgow' from the Lennoxs. (62) This bold initiative alarmed the crafts who made sure that their own constitutional position was safeguarded in any new settlement. (63)

The Council resorted to obsequious flattery to further the petition at Court, instructing Dowhill younger to buy 'portratouris of King Charles the first and secund, and also ane carpett and to send all hame for the toune's use': (64) the carpet would have been useful to preserve the knees of courtiers. On 18 June, Dowhill younger reported that the Duke of Lennox seemed likely to 'quyt any priviledge he hes over the toune as baillie of the regallitie', and the Provost wrote to encourage this concession. (65) Dowhill made his report on 18 July, (66) but nothing seems to have come of these initiatives. Ironically Dowhill younger after a long spell as a radical outsider between 1674 and 1687, returned in triumph to burgh leadership in 1689, and gained the coveted freedom of elections from William of Orange. (67)

In the summer of 1670 all seemed well for the Bellites in Glasgow - John Bell was increasingly employed in town affairs. (68) To cap this semblance of a return to the old order, Sir James Turner, now in retirement, received a deed confirming possession of his town house and tower

(62) Ibid., 132-3; 134.

(63) Ibid., 134-5.

(64) Ibid., 136.

(65) Ibid., 136 Charles, 6th Duke of Lennox, died in October 1672 without issue. The Dukedom reverted to Charles II, the nearest male heir. The liferent of the Estates went to the Duchess, who died in 1702. Glasgow Records, III, 142, F.N.1.

(66) Ibid., 137.

(67) V. Infra, p.366.

(68) Glasgow Records, III, 136-41.

in Gorbals for £300 Scots yearly. On 1 October he presented the Council with a bond of Archbishop Burnet's, entitling him to a payment of 4000 merks. (69) Turner liked Glasgow, and his retirement to Gorbals underlines the confidence he had in the burgh authorities - or his capacity to defend himself - for curates all around him had recently been harassed.

However the Bellites fell as suddenly as they had revived. On 4 October 1670, Tweeddale's servitor produced a royal edict instructing the magistrates to receive William Anderson back as Provost, in the current absence of the new commendator of the See, Leighton. (70) The burgh was allowed to elect its officers and councillors, but as in the previous year, a change of head sufficed to initiate a purge of the ranks. Once again the electoral college had to be made up by three members - a marginal inconvenience to the purgers. Twenty four places changed hands now, including that of John Bell; the Barnes; all the Campbells apart from James, and Dowhill elder. (71) Even the contraverted Dean of Guildship was re-distributed again, with Robert Rae recovering office as he had been unfairly barred from the leets in 1669. (72) The

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(69) Glasgow Records, III, 138; 142.  
(70) Ibid., 143-4.  
(71) The affiliations of the Dowhill Andersons are complicated at this stage - there may have been a split between father and son, for Dowhill younger came back to the Council with William Anderson in 1670: his father did not. Both Dowhills were returned to Council in 1672 and 1673, but they do not seem to have taken their places in the latter year (See Glasgow Records, III, 186) Dowhill elder was in the returns for 1674 despite Burnet's remit to John Bell to purge radical suspects, while Dowhill younger kept out, as he was by now committed to radicalism.  
(72) Glasgow Records, III, 144.

'revolution' of October 1669 was reversed. Further evidence for conspiracy during the brief reign of the Bellites is evident from instructions given Bailie Frederick Hamilton on 10 December 1670

'to speik to the [ex] provest James Campbell to try at him quhair the tounes papers ar, and to requyr him to give up these summondis that wer raised the last year against the provest William Andersoune'.(73)

This Council of 1670 held control until the return of Burnet to the See in the Autumn of 1674, with only minimal changes in personnel. Lauderdale continued the William Anderson regime in 1671.(74) Anderson found the new Commendator and subsequent Archbishop, Leighton, a paragon among Bishops; he virtually allowed them free elections in 1672 and 1673.(75) Indeed in October 1672 Leighton went as far as to convene an assembly of all the burgesses to elect the Council - a radical step followed by William of Orange in July 1689, previous to his grant of freedom of elections. Of course, once left in peace, the burgh reverted to its traditional incestuous election within Council circles. The Andersonites were alarmed when they heard rumours that their patron was in London, talking of resigning his charge in May 1673. They appealed to Lauderdale to secure his stay,

'considering that the whoill citie and incorporatioune therin hes lived peacablie and quyety since the said Archbishop his coming to this burgh, throw his cristian cariage and behaveour towardis them, and by his government with great discretione and moderatioune'.(76)

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(73) Ibid., 147-8.

(74) Ibid., 156.

(75) Ibid., 162-3; 170-1.

(76) Glasgow Records, III, 167.

But by the summer of 1674, Leighton's resignation was official, while Lauderdale had been so embittered by the opposition of Hamilton's 'Faction' in the Parliament of 1673.(77) that Law goes as far as to suggest that Leighton was actually ousted by Lauderdale for favouring the Faction.(78)

William Anderson's political career was threatened by the departure of Leighton and the impending return of Burnet to the See. He compounded this threat by supporting a petition of the Burghs - drafted by Sir George Mackenzie - to the King, complaining about recent royal instructions banning non-residents as burgh commissioners to Parliament and Conventions of Burghs. This occurred just before the Glasgow elections, in August 1674: as a result Anderson, together with the Provosts of Ayr and Aberdeen, was imprisoned by Privy Council. He was fined 6000 merks, and his colleagues lesser sums. The leaders of Edinburgh, Banff, Haddington and Perth had dissented from the Protest, and on 13 January 1675 the Convention timidly disowned the whole affair.(79) Anderson's involvement made it much easier for John Bell to destroy him at the burgh elections of October 1674, encouraged by Burnet.

This was a season of reconciliation between the old

(77) See J. Patrick, 'The origins of the opposition to Lauderdale in the Scottish Parliament of 1673', S.H.R., LIII, no.155, (1974), 1-21.

(78) Law, Memorials, p.71.

(79) Convention Records, III, 639-42; 644. Anderson's son attempted to recover the fine after the Revolution - see Ibid., IV, 79. For Mackenzie's involvement, see J.W. Barty, Ancient deeds in the Mackenzie-Wharnclyffe charter chest, (Edinburgh, 1906) p.10.

reactionaries, Burnet and John Bell, and that latter-day reactionary, Lauderdale. In a fascinating letter to Lauderdale of 17 October 1674, Burnet reveals the manipulations which secured Glasgow once more for the extreme right: the letter deserves quotation at length.

'As soone as I gott my act of counsell [accepted] i sett forth toward Glasgow and was mett this day fortnight [3 October] by severall friends who live in and about the citty; bot from the Magistrates, Toune Counsall, Bayliffe of the regality ... there came not one to take notice of me; and the next day the provest and other magistrates were so farre from [accepting] me that the provests cloth and cushion was removed to another church. On the Tysday following our provest and bayliffs were chosen with very little noyse and the choice proved better than I expected. In the afternoone our synod for the west mett ... and gave me a very heartie and kynd wellcome'. (30)

In fact the 'choice' of new Provost was guaranteed to be pleasing as it was made by Burnet himself - on 6 October he nominated John Bell.

Now on that same day the Council had banned five members from the voting (including Patrick Bryce, a radical suspect) on account that they had not taken the Declaration (31) - either William Anderson was attempting a last minute purge to placate Burnet, or John Bell was already taking charge. Burnet left for a Synod at Peebles on 9 October, confident that Bell would secure a docile Council. The Council election was the scene of an almighty struggle between Bell and William Anderson - as Burnet told Lauderdale:

'the present provest accused William Anderson of transgressing the act of parliament ...

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(30) Brit. Mus., Additional MS ., 35,125, f.264.  
 (31) Glasgow Records, III, 186.

and carrying on that insolent letter sent to his Matie and so ordered him to remove; with him the rest of that party rose, whom John Bell required to sit still, and upon their refuseall took instruments that they had disobeyed his order and deserted their places and so proceeded to the electione of a new councill which I hope by their first [act] will disowne ... their commissioner to the Convention of Burrows and expresse their dislike ... of that insolent and undutifull letter sent to his Matie ...' (82)

The new Council contained all the Bellites - Campbells, Barnes, James Colquhoun, all were there in force.

Twenty six places changed hands. Only Dowhill elder represented the dismissed hierarchy. A great fuss was made about the Declaration. (83) On 20 October the new establishment disowned William Anderson and the Burgh's letter to the King, being 'alwayes and ar yit reddie with their lyfes and fortunes to serve his Majestie in all his royall commandis'. (84)

This was the ultimate triumph of conservative rule in Glasgow. On 28 October 1674 Burnet enthused to Lauderdale that he had received a letter from Provost Bell, which he enclosed:

'... it comes a day or two later than I expected but I hope your Grace will not only pardon that, but also any expression in the letter or act which is not smooth and courtly; and take notice of their honest good meaning and loyall designe in both; in which (I am confident) your Grace will never find them inferior to any citty or corporation in thes kingdome; and I am sure there is not any sort or condition of people within the kingdome that doo more thankfully acknowledge that obligation to your Grace or will more faithfully and constantly adhere to you'. (85)

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( 82 ) Brit. Mus., Addit. MS ., 35,125, f.264.

( 83 ) Glasgow Records, III, 187-9.

( 84 ) Ibid., 192.

( 85 ) N.L.S., MS.2512, f.173.

Monck had said much the same about Glasgow's leaders in 1657 - regarding their loyalty to Cromwell's Protectorate. (86) The Bellites were superb survivors.

The affairs of Church and State during the Leighton era in Glasgow followed the dual pattern of conciliation and repression which had originated after Pentland. Although the Government offered concessions, strong measures were devised against Dissent. In the burgh itself, conciliation reached its peak with the 'liberal experiment' of Leighton, and his consideration of local interests.

Strict measures against conventicles and illicit baptisms followed a Royal Proclamation of 3 February 1670. (87) Suspects who failed to appear before the sheriffs and bailies were to be seized upon by the militia, who were again to be quartered at their expense. On 10 February, the Earl of Linlithgow was authorised to seize attenders at two conventicles held at Kirkintilloch. James Hamilton of Blantyre and James Mitchell (the would-be assassin of Sharp) were rumoured to have been there. (88)

Despite an Act of Parliament of 30 November (89)

(86) V. Supra, pp. 158-9.

(87) R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., III, 130-1.

(88) Ibid., 132.

(89) A.P.S., VII, 556.

and subsequent proclamations to protect the curates incidents of violence continued in the Glasgow Area. Andrew Morton, fugitive after the Saltmercat conventicle of May 1669, had evaded capture until January 1670, when he was informed against by Robert Boyd, curate of Carmunnock. As a result Morton was imprisoned by Privy Council until November 1670, when he was liberated on the usual grounds of ill health. He was confined to his house in Glasgow, where he took advantage of Burnet's fall to preach to all who gathered at his house, in defiance of the laws.(90) In consequence of Morton's betrayal in January, Robert Boyd's house was attacked and plundered and his wife assaulted in his absence. On 27 January 1670 Privy Council fined Sir Archibald Stewart of Castlemilk £50 sterling in reparation to Boyd under the terms of heritors' responsibility.(91) Yet in May, Privy Council had to deal with a case of assault and plunder on Alexander Kinneir, minister of Neilston - ten armed men had attacked his manse at midnight. The heritors sent William Stewart

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(90) Wodrow, History, II, 152.

(91) R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., III, 127-9.

of Kirkton to represent them before Privy Council, where Kinneir himself levied a fine of £1000 Scots. (92)

This mode of direct compensation to suffering ministers was at least more constructive than lining the pockets of Sir James Turner. It was also used against Conventiclers. On 26 July 1670, Robert Burnes, merchant of Glasgow, acknowledging that he had attended a conventicle at Kirkintilloch, refused to desist in future. He was fined 300 merks, to be awarded to the children of a 'deceast Mr Thomas Forrester, a suffering minister' - whose sufferings were over. Burnes went to Edinburgh Tolbooth till he paid up. (93)

Similar subtlety can be detected in the treatment of Patrick Bryce, maltman of Glasgow (a former Porterfield councillor, and possibly the entrepreneur of the Gorbals coal heughs) Bryce had been fined £100 by the commissioners at Glasgow - probably Bellites - for having 'a chyld baptised in a disorderly way'. But he explained that this was done

'at the importunitie of his wyfe, who was in a great distemper after chyld birth, and that the chyld was very sicklie, and that as hitherto ... he hath lived orderly, so he promises and resolves for the time to come ...' (94)

The fine was lifted until further order, provided Bryce gave bond for 500 merks that he would take his child for baptism by the lawful minister of his parish.

These last trials took place just after the great conventicle of Beath in Fife, the first of the 'armed'

(92) Ibid., 200-2.

(93) R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., III, 199.

(94) Ibid.

conventicles, and the men from the West were caught up in a backlash of zeal against dissent. However church discipline in the West had been modified with the departure of Alexander Burnet. His successor, Robert Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane, was keen to present a liberal front to the Covenanters. In direct contrast to Burnet, who was a dedicated administrator and politician, Leighton was - even before he accepted the post at Glasgow - 'so extremely weary of the trifling contentions of this part of the world, that instead of engaging further in them I intend an entire escape out of them'. He was deeply conscious 'that wee have occasion'd so much trouble, & done so little or no good, now these seven or eight years since ye restitution of our order'. (95)

Leighton only accepted the charge at Glasgow on condition that he could attempt to accommodate dissenters within the episcopal system.

Leighton's biographers regarded him as nothing short of a saint - Butler felt that

'Had the Restoration statesmen been but guided by this beautiful spirit that dominated Leighton; had they been but worthy of this majestic Christian; idealist, there is no reason to doubt that the course of Scottish history might have been different. Among unworthy company this good man's lot was cast ... Like Baxter in England, he aimed at a comprehensive church for Scotland, ... for that ideal he pleaded for twelve long years; the policy that prevented it in England annulled it in Scotland; but of all those who entered the field in Scotland

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(95) Lauderdale Papers, II, 181-3.

as leaders of the Restoration Church,  
there is but one name on which no stain  
rests, and that is the name of Robert  
Leighton'. (96 )

Dr Ian Cowan has reacted against this sincere but rather  
unrealistic view of Leighton, pointing out his numerous  
compromises:

'In view of this remarkable capacity for  
personal survival and self advancement  
it is hardly surprising that Leighton  
has been accused as a trimmer - a man  
who would subscribe to the covenant,  
defer to Cromwell and accept a bishopric  
without any apparent realization of the  
incongruity of his position'. (97 )

Unlike Sharp, Leighton did not resist re-ordination in  
1661.

A more charitable view suggests that Leighton was  
engaged in a hopeless task, steering between Scylla and  
Charybidis. He failed to convince even the moderate  
Presbyterians of the value and security of accommodation.  
He was suspected of endangering his order by Sharp. He  
was hampered by Lauderdale's increasingly draconic  
policies against dissent. After all he was not the only  
moderate to fail - among statesmen, Moray, Tweeddale and  
eventually Kincardine broke with Lauderdale.

Accommodation was not of course a theory and policy  
original to Leighton. He was following in the footsteps  
of the 'Moderate or Broad Church Party' headed by  
Archbishop James Usher of Armagh. This group had retired  
from the Westminster Assembly in 1643 when confronted by

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- ( 96 ) D. Butler, The Life and Letters of Robert Leighton ...  
(London, 1903), p.322. For an alternative, less  
interesting, life of Leighton, see E.A. Knox,  
Robert Leighton, Archbishop of Glasgow: a study of  
his life, time and writings, (London, 1931)
- ( 97 ) I.B. Cowan, The Scottish Covenanters, 1660-1688,  
pp.73-4.

the Solemn League and Covenant. (98) As has already been indicated, Leighton's association with accommodation theory alarmed Alexander Burnet - a determined High Churchman - in 1667. Leighton saw the Bishop not as a divinely ordained suprema of the See, but rather as the chairman of Synod and Presbytery. He practised his theory in Glasgow attending Presbytery as an 'ordinary' member. (99) Under accommodation the Bishop was to lose his veto over the legislation of Synod and Presbytery. While ministers were still obliged to attend such meetings, they had the consolation of officially declaring their support, or opposition, towards episcopacy.

Leighton continued to administer the See of Dunblane during his first two years at Glasgow, accepting only £300 sterling from his western charge - a fifth of the income. His first Synod at Glasgow was held in August 1670, and he immediately instigated overtures of accommodation and a radical examination of his own clergy. A purging committee was set up to hear complaints against the curates. Privy Council supported this by appointing Western lairds, including Sir John Cochrane, and the Provosts of Glasgow and Ayr to assist them. The current Provost of Glasgow, James Campbell, was an unlikely friend to the Covenanters. The enquiry resulted in the expulsion of only one minister. (100) The whole affair was a remarkable concession by Leighton, but probably extremists on

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(98) For an excellent discussion of accommodation and its history, see D. Butler, op.cit., pp.303-22.

(99) Ibid., pp.424-7.

(100) Wodrow, History, II, 176. Four or five others were moved elsewhere.

both sides (Sharp's group and the Covenanters) regarded it as a sign of weakness or a form of 'window-dressing'.

Next six 'evangelists', including the Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, Gilbert Burnet, were sent on a tour of the West Country to explain accommodation to the natives. Gilbert Burnet expressed amazement

'to see a poor commonalty so capable to argue upon points of government, and on the bounds to be set to the power of princes in matters of religion. Upon all these topics they had texts of scripture at hand, and were ready with their answers to anything that was said to them. This measure of knowledge was spread even amongst the meanest of them, their cottagers and servants. They were indeed vain of their knowledge, much conceited of themselves, and were full of a most entangled scrupulosity: so that they found or made difficulties in everything that could be laid before them'.(101)

The description, coming from one who was not beyond conceit himself, would fit radicals and sectarians of any age. Indeed Burnet seems to have forgotten the precise characteristics exhibited by the New Model Army and the sects of the Interregnum. Although Burnet's travelling circus attracted many folk momentarily from their conventicles - the evangelists after all provided an ideal forum sponsored by Authority - the extreme ministers soon convinced their flocks of the perils of accommodation and the erastian snare.

At a higher level, the moderate ministers, indulged and non-indulged, rebuffed Leighton in a series of conferences between August 1670 and January 1671. Gilbert Burnet, James Ramsay and the Provost of Glasgow all

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(101) Gilbert Burnet, History of his own time, ed. O.Airy, (Oxford, 1897) I, 524-5.

attended, and in the final conference, Tweeddale, Hamilton and other Privy Councillors lent their support. The ministers under George Hutchison refused to accept the possibility of security and advantage in Leighton's plans - they knew he was virtually alone among the higher clergy in his sincerity. They still stood for 'traditional' Presbyterian privileges, including lay elders in the Presbytery and a church government free from erastian contamination. The exiled extremist McWard went further, attacking Leighton mercilessly.

'But of this I am very certain, that if he had laboured as seriously upon his Master's mission to reconcile souls unto God, as he seemeth to have travelled upon his Majestie's commission to patch up a sinful Accommodation, his hope of rest had been both more sweet and assured'. (102)

Yet the moderate success of the First Indulgence, and the more substantial gains of the Second in 1672 in attracting ministers back into the Church - especially in the South West - suggests that the more moderate Presbyterians were open to a degree of compromise. The Indulgees could however enjoy a measure of security without committing themselves to episcopacy, albeit they were under the mantle of the civil power. But for the general body of Covenanters - which included people like Dowhill younger in Glasgow, who were far from fanatical - no compromise seemed acceptable. The obduracy of dissent was probably intensified by the policy of Lauderdale - at no time was conciliation allowed to operate unsullied

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(102) Robert McWard, A case of the Accommodation lately proposed (n.p., 1671) p.57 - Quoted D. Butler, op.cit., p.450.

by repression. This 'dual policy' only made sense if the Government were prepared to wage a constant war against the extremists. It would appear as if Lauderdale under-estimated both the resolution and support of the Covenanters during the 1670's.

Lauderdale seemed incapable of comprehending any reason for dissent when the Indulgences had been offered: the Covenanters, moderate and extreme seemed unwilling to risk compromise and submersion in any settlement containing episcopacy. It was a classic case of lost opportunity - too many grievances and differences had polarised since 1662. It would be naive to pretend that the 'liberal' solution was a panacea for all ills - liberals were rather too thin on the ground for that - but certainly only fourteen months after the First Indulgence, the South West was only at the beginning of an intensifying trauma of confrontation. The vicious circle could not be broken. Lauderdale had assured the King of a citadel Scotland in November 1669(103) but his plans were to be continually eroded by implacable resistance from a broad range of alienated Presbyterians.

The effects of this 'dual policy' in Glasgow were even more paradoxical than in the West Country generally. For although the Government's harrying of Dissent outraged

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(103) Lauderdale Papers, II, 163-4. This citadel was to have been cemented by the commercial and political Unions, but the failure of these negotiations hampered the grand design to use Scotland as an instrument to reinforce crown policy in England. Scotland, as a submissive satrapy could also have been a testing ground for wider policy. V.Supra, p.284.

the gentry on the city's doorstep, and dismayed their connections in town, Leighton was very popular in Glasgow. Naturally the ruling burgh politicians appreciated an Archbishop who left them to run the burgh in peace. Leighton maintained the Anderson party simply by avoiding direct manipulation of elections and allowing the party in office to perpetuate themselves - a procedure always feasible given the electoral system.(104) The personal lenience of Leighton - as opposed to Lauderdale's growing sternness - and the dissenting connections of the Anderson group, gave a brief breathing space to the small group of burgh merchant covenanters.

However when Leighton abandoned his post, this group was faced with greater repression, and a more thorough surveillance, under the efficient new team of Alexander Burnet and John Bell. All that can be said for the 'liberal experiment' in Glasgow was that it gave the minority group of dissenters a glimpse of the New Jerusalem - not so much in Leighton's principles and religion, but in the possibilities under moderate rule. Essentially however the limited significance of extreme dissent in Glasgow's ruling circle must be stressed, although conventicling and resistance to Government policy increased steadily after 1674. One sound reason for the circumspection of Glasgow's merchant chiefs lay in their devotion to business and their local affairs - the subjects of the final chapter of this thesis.

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(104) Leighton's device of allowing a convocation of the burgesses to elect the Council in October 1672 meant in practice that the normal procedures of a 'free election' were carried out, with domination of the leets by the ruling party. V.Supra, p.304

# "The Politics and Society of Glasgow: 1648-1674"

## Part three: Restoration Glasgow, 1660-74

### Chapter IX The effective Calvinists: domestic policy and trading connections in Glasgow, 1664-74

In the conclusion to his excellent article on the seventeenth century Glasgow merchants, T.C. Smout has considered the classical linkage between religion and entrepreneurial dynamic, suggesting that the Glasgow men were so effective because they were law-abiding Calvinists(1) - like I.B. Cowan he feels that this caution prevented them from joining the Covenanter rebels in seditious action, despite certain affinities. One slight drawback to this theory is that the most effective merchants of all - the Gibsons - were generally reckoned to be episcopalian, or at least supporters of the Restoration Church Establishment, as were John Bell's group. Sir George Maxwell of Pollok and the Dowhills - particularly Dowhill younger - may be fairly described as effective Calvinists, but in fact Glasgow men of all parties seemed to be able to abandon deep-seated differences in politics and religion to cooperate joyfully in making profit. It took a great deal to sway the Glasgow merchant community from its path to prosperity. To the establishment conservatives and a minority of prosperous radicals alike, business was business. Social policy was less monolithic, particularly under the Kirk Party, but the key to Glasgow's success was a combination of cautious garnering of resources and bold diversified enterprise.

Although there was a change in Glasgow's civic leadership in October 1664, with the fall of John Bell and the emergence of William Anderson, domestic policy did not

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(1) Smout, Merchants, p.70.

undergo the depth of change characteristic of an interchange between the Porterfield radicals and the conservative burgh establishment between 1645 and 1652. This was because one group of conservatives replaced another, and faction had not yet bitten deeply into the ranks. John Bell and James Campbell remained as ordinary councillors, and Bell continued to act in concert with the Andersons over the out-port negotiations during the first year of Anderson government. (2)

In their attitude towards the poor and charities, the Anderson Councils therefore maintained traditional policy, and that of the Bellites in 1661. (3) On 25 February 1665 a survey of the town was instigated by reason of 'the great incres of strangers and uncouth beggars within this burgh, and the great numbers of orray weomen and servantis that desertis service and takis chambers'. (4) After the roll had been taken, the Bailies had to see all the mendicants removed 'aff the toune', and a fine of £10 was laid down for persons letting property to 'orray weomen' - who were of course prostitutes for whom the troops billeted in Glasgow throughout this period provided a thriving trade. This was of course officially discouraged. After another investigation of 'orray weomen' and their landlords in June 1669 at least one victim was ostracised, for on 25 September

'Janet Shearer, spous to James Love, wright, for her bais and leud cariage in her druckiness, in keeping company with sojouris, to be benished this burgh for ever, and that

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(2) Glasgow Records, III, 42.

(3) V. Supra, pp. 110-12.

(4) Glasgow Records, III, 50; 52.

if her husband receipt her heirafter he  
to be benished also'.(5)

The poor benefitted indirectly from the political tension in the West. In April 1665 a proclamation was issued requiring all arms to be surrendered to the magistrates for safe-keeping in the Tolbooth - all who 'neglectis to do the samayne sall be looked wpon as disaffectit to the present government and sua punished accordinglie'.(6) This encouraged the Council to redirect funds collected for arms on entry to trades towards poor relief in September 1666 - a practise followed by the Porterfieldians before them. Initially the Anderson Council directed the money to the Merchants' House poor, but in May 1668 the Trades' House received a share.(7) Unfortunately public expenditure was at such a premium that not long after, in January 1669, the hospitals were required to contribute fire-fighting equipment - the ubiquitous 'buckettis' - after another fire scare. This was to be drawn from their new poor fund allocations.(8) This combination of practicality, prudence and charity is starkly revealed in September 1661 by the sad case of Thomas Justice, merchant who

'having ane idiot ... daughter named Issobell,  
and least she should prove burdingsome to the  
toun in caice he war removed by death, ...

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(5) Glasgow Records, III, 119; 121-2.

(6) Glasgow Records, III, 53. On 4 May 1667 the magistrates requested that outlying folk should receive back their arms for protection when travelling abroad to Glasgow: the ban may have hampered trade. Ibid., III, 92.

(7) Glasgow Records, III, 85; 107.

(8) Ibid., 114. The Hospitals had received a franchise of the 'bucket money'.

hes payit in to the toune ane thousand  
markis'.(9)

of which he and his wife were to have the annual interest during their lifetime, after which the interest was to be devoted to 'the said idiot for her maintenance'. After Issobel's death it was to revert to her next-of-kin, and finally to the town. Thus slender resources were used to the utmost to allay the uncertainty of life.

This uncertainty was brought home to the burgh in 1664, with the renewed threat of plague. As a precaution against infection from Holland, the Privy Council banned the unloading of ships from that airt for six months in July 1664, although the Glasgow merchant, Thomas Crawford successfully appealed for permission to unload a cargo of iron and knappell 'not easily subject to infection' on 17 August.(10) When the plague reached England stricter precautions were taken. On 2 September 1665 the Master of Work was directed to repair all the ports, and the burgesses had to close off their yards 'now in this dangerous tyme for fear of the plague of pestilence' within eight days, or face a fine of £100 and further punishment.(11) The Privy Council ordered even stricter quarantine regulations: on 2 February 1666, a consignment of goods from the Border town of Jedburgh which arrived in Glasgow were burnt at the Mercat Cross.(12) In fact the quarantine did keep the plague out of Scotland on this occasion.

(9) Ibid., 96-7.

(10) R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., I, 561; 591 Knappell refers to clapboard or staves of oak for casks.

(11) Glasgow Records, III, 61.

(12) Ibid., 67.

Glasgow's charity resources were not augmented by the behaviour of one of the burgh officers, George Pollok, who was sacked on 17 March 1668 for collecting at the Kirk door 'in absence of the collector, and for drinking and debusching pairt thereof and for sundrie uther enormities and wrongs'. However Pollok recovered his job on 3 April with dire warnings as to his fate 'if ever he be found drunk, as he hes beine oft heirtofoir, or causes complaints'.(13) It may have been difficult to get people to fill the less prestigious posts around town, for in another flagrant breach of trust, the Clerk of Session, William Anderson, was suspended for accepting bribes to alter the register of baptisms and marriages to aid recusants: but again Anderson got his place back after admonition and repentance.(14)

Despite Government legislation encouraging the provision of public works for the poor, Glasgow moved further away from this principle. In 1667 the magistrates discovered yet again that the

'haill citie is greatly overburdeined with ane number of commoune beggars, all straingers, quhilk aught nocht to be permittit in any weill governed citie within the kingdome'.(15)

As usual they threw the beggars out, and in an attempt to protect their own poor, issued badges which licensed them to beg: they had the old example of the King's 'gaberlunzie' before them. The Porterfieldians had also evicted beggars between 1648-52, but they had been more active in public works. Their cloth manufactory was still a going

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(13) Ibid., 68-72.

(14) MSS. Presbytery Records, pp.108; 121; 125. May 1667.

(15) Glasgow Records, III, 100.

concern in private hands under Simon Pickersgill, whose lease was renewed for a further seven years on 21 August 1669 at a tack of £5 sterling yearly.(16)

In fact the cloth industry in Scotland had to be drastically re-organised, and standards improved to stand any chance of success in the export market. Only with wider sales could the textile trade offer employment to surplus labour. Although public enterprise was lacking in Restoration Glasgow, private interests were branching out by the early 1680's. On 23 November 1682, John Corse, Andrew Armour and Robert Burne, merchants in Glasgow, petitioned Privy Council for a licence to establish a manufactory in Glasgow for 'damaties, fustianes, and stripped vermilionnes'; this would save bullion and employ many 'servants, strangers which are to come and to be sent for'.(17) They received a licence for nine years. This was obviously the way forward, although there were technical problems still to solve - James Armour had been permitted to start a clothmill in Glasgow in September 1681,(18) but Andrew Russell, the factor at Rotterdam, had scorned his previous samples.(19) The entrepreneurs of Newmilnes, near Edinburgh, claimed to have overcome quality deficiencies and previous failures at New-Milnes, Ayr and Bonnington. They claimed to have undersold English competitors in serges over the decade to 1683, and

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(16) Ibid., 121.

(17) R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., VII, 597-8.

(18) A.P.S., VIII, 361.

(19) S.R.O., Russell MSS., 258/ Letter from James Armour, Glasgow, 20 October 1680. Quoted T.C. Smout, Scottish trade on the eve of the Union, 1660-1707, (Edinburgh, 1963), p.110.

wanted a licence to employ a 'vast number of poor folk and others' in the manufacture of woollen cloth, serges, silk, and worsted stockings for export. They had overcome labour problems by operating on piecework. (20) In addition to the textile enterprises, the soap and sugar works established rather earlier in Glasgow could possibly have absorbed able-bodied poor, and vagrant labour.

Another solution to chronic under-employment was emigration. The magistrates occasionally assisted migrants themselves - for instance they paid out £84 'for the transportatioune of Harie Andersone, sone naturall to umquhill Harie Andersoune, merchand, to Barbados for his lyfliehood' (21) in December 1665. Again, Ninian and William Gilhagie, sons to John Gilhagie, maltman, were given £10 sterling 'to help them transport themselves bak againe to England, and for their better advance to ane honest lyfe quhen thei came ther, their parentis being nowayes able to help them'. (22) But large-scale transportation received a great boost with the risings of the Covenanters. On 3 June 1669 the good ship 'Charles' of Leith was ready to set sail for the Plantations with banished prisoners of Pentland. Privy Council received a petition from her owners, backed by the Lord Lyon and Edinburgh merchants, craving delivery of 'idle beggars, gipsies and other undesirable persons [for] the plantations in Virginia, Barbadoes and other

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- (20) A representation of the advantages that would arise ... by the erecting and improving of MANUFACTORIES, But more especially, by that of Wollen-Cloath. (Edinburgh, 1683) [By David Lindsay and partners]
- (21) Glasgow Records, III, 66-7.
- (22) Ibid., 66.

remote islands'.(23) The petition was readily granted.

On 8 December 1670, the Glasgow merchants, John Anderson and Archibald Scott, with Captain George Dredan, master of the ship 'Glasgow', delivered a similar petition offering to

'disburden the kingdome of strong and idle beggars, vagabonds, Egiptians, common and notorious thieves, whoores and other dissolut and lous persons banished or stigmatized for grosse crymes ... seeing the country doth now abound with such wicked and idle persons who have no visible way of living but by stouth and robbery'.(24)

They received a licence to collect vagabonds from the sheriffs and burgh magistrates for three months. Walter Gibson did a fair trade in shipping captives of the Bothwell Brig rising off to the Colonies, but he also advertised passages for free emigrants at reasonable cost.(25)

In all truth there was a continuous reservoir of under-privileged poor in Glasgow, on the verge of subsistence. These folk took little part in the great events of burgh and Kirk politics. The Glasgow merchant, John Gibson, says that at the time of the Union of 1707

'the body of the people were but a degree above want; the streets were crowded with beggars, both old and young, who were willing and able to work, could they have found employment'.(26)

He later reports however

(23) R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., III, 20-2.

(24) Ibid., 259.

(25) 'Proposals by Walter Gibson, merchant in Glasgow to persons who wish to transport themselves to America, 1684', Miscellany of the Bannatyne Club, III, 383-4.

(26) John Gibson, A history of Glasgow ... (Glasgow, 1777) p.106.

'that, since the year 1750, a total change has been effected, not only in Glasgow, but over the whole country around it; the manners of the people have undergone an alteration greatly for the better; a spirit of industry and activity has been raised, and now pervades every order of men; commerce has been increased, manufactures have been carried on to a considerable extent, and they are still extending; every person is employed, not a beggar is to be seen in the streets, the very children are busy'.(27)

Gibson's thesis is thus that Glasgow had to transform itself from a small trading and university town into a thriving manufacturing centre to support its quota of poor and displaced persons - which even during the seventeenth century was swollen by arrivals from the Highlands. However this transformation was greatly assisted by the new ground broken in foreign trade during the later seventeenth century, when fortunes were already being invested in textiles, sugar mills and coal mines.

As a last resort, the able bodied poor could find security for life in the coalmines and salt pans, where the workers were virtually serfs until emancipation in the late 18th century. By an act of Privy Council of 3 September 1607, miners needed a licence to withdraw their labour and the 'Master of his Heynes Metallis' was empowered to 'tak and apprehend all masterless vagaboundis and sturdy beggars' putting them to work the mines 'and hold them to the same'.(28) An Act of Parliament of 1641 laid down a six-day week for colliers, who had been indulging in extravagant holidays at 'Pasch, Yule, Whitsonday and certane other times in the yeer ... to the great offence of God and prejudice of ther maister'.

(27) Ibid., p.120.

(28) R.P.C. Scot., 1st series, VII, 434.

Now they were liable to a twenty shilling fine for every illegal holiday. The conditions covering pit-workers were extended to the watermen, essential in transporting coals, by this act.<sup>(29)</sup> In effect a draconian industrial discipline was forced on these folk long before the first factories of the Industrial Revolution .

There were no salt pans in the Glasgow area - the trade was concentrated on the Forth. According to Tucker's Report, (30) the West shipped its salt from England, although Biscay Bay salt normally came direct when the authorities were cooperative.<sup>(31)</sup> However coal mining was expanding rapidly. A shaft had been sunk in the burgh 'commoune' for the Council by John Craig in 1648, (32) but the main area of enterprise was to be in the Gorbals-Rutherglen district. As feuars of Gorbals, Glasgow controlled the mineral rights, which they tacked out to Patrick Bryce, a weaver, whose political career stretched from the Porterfield Councils to 1673. Bryce encountered some difficulties in the early years of his operations. In May 1660 he had to get the Council to persuade Sir George Maxwell of Pollok to allow him to cart coals to Meikle Govan (east of Gorbals) because he

(29) A.P.S., V, 419.

(30) 'Report by Thomas Tucker upon the settlement of the revenues of excise and customs in Scotland, 1656'. Printed in Miscellany of the Scottish Burgh Records Society, (Edinburgh, 1881) p.4. (Henceforth Tucker's Report) Thomas Johnston (History of the working classes in Scotland, Glasgow, n.d., p.79) says that Tucker quotes 20,000 employees in the coal and salt trades, but I can find no reference to this figure in the report. Johnston's work is stimulating but not always accurate in detail.

(31) For petitions regarding the import of Bay Salt, V.Infra, p.343.

(32) Glasgow Records, II, 155.

often found it difficult to load them at Broomielaw 'throw scarsitie of water'. Sir George was afraid to establish a right of way through his estates for coal masters, but eventually agreed to let Bryce through on sufferance. (33)

In March 1661 Bryce came into conflict with James Bell, a Glasgow merchant, who had lands marching with Gorbals which he intended to exploit for coal. Bell complained to Parliament that Bryce was taking his coal, and had resisted a visitation of the magistrates 'threatning if any wold goe down, to cutt the cords'. Bryce later flooded the pit ruining Bell's project at an estimated loss of 10,000 merks, and Parliament appointed a Commission, including James Campbell, to investigate Bell's complaint. (34)

The coal masters in the Barony faced great trials with flooding and profligate labour. They appealed to Privy Council on 4 September 1662 for powers to discipline their miners 'as in other parts upon Forth' - where workers only received a subsistence until coal stocks were sold. Glasgow men enjoyed the extravagance of weekly wages and unofficial holidays spent 'all in drinking'. A commission of Colin Campbell, John Bell and officials of the Barony and Rutherglen was appointed 'to draw up rules for the rectifying of these enormities'. (35) Previously Sir Ludovic Stewart of Minto had got Parliament to authorise his colliers to work harder, avoiding

(33) Ibid., 445.

(34) A.P.S., VII, App. 31-2.

(35) R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., 258-9.

unofficial holidays.(36)

With all these problems, there developed a crisis in the Glasgow coal supply. By March 1666 coal was so dear and scarce that 'a hutch bought of befor on the hill for four shilling is now bought for no less than sex shilling'. In 'regaird of the decay of the coal hewes about the towne, quhilk makes ane great outcry among the inhabitantis and mainlie the poor', the magistrates paid Patrick Bryce 1000 merks to sink two new shafts in Gorbals. His earlier 'vandalism' had been overlooked, and he was still in business and expanding in 1680.(37) Sir George Maxwell of Pollok divulges further details of mining south of the Clyde. In October 1674 he received

'a bond of £200 payable to me and my son from Geo. Dickie and A.H. Dreghorn at Mart[inmas] next for a libertie to tak out coallis of my lands in Bellahouston ... at the mouth of Walt Gibson's shank ... this libertie to be of no effect after Lamm[as] 1676'.(38)

This reveals yet another facet of Walter Gibson's enterprise.

Gorbal's enterprise poised a threat as well as an advantage to the vested interests of Glasgow. In April 1666 the cordiners, or shoemakers, petitioned the magistrates for redress against 'theis of their jurnaymen and uther cordoners who takis wp buithis in the Gorballes'. In June their deacon, James Mitchell, referred the magistrates to '154 act of 12 Parliament of James VI' which forbade the exercise of crafts 'within suburbs adjacent to burghes', reminding them that in tempting apprentices

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(36) A.P.S., VII, App.30.

(37) Glasgow Records, III, 68-70; 281; 284.

(38) S.R.A., T-PM 123/6, Pollok Maxwell Papers, f.18.

away from the trade, the outworkers were not only stealing custom but escaping the direct jurisdiction of the magistrates of Glasgow, and 'ar growne so proud and insolent in their awine conceat, misregarding al law and authoritie'.(39) The Council therefore banned Gorbals tanners and shoemakers from engaging apprentices and starting up new booths without license. In January 1669, an agreement was reached whereby Gorbals shoemakers could set up stalls in the Glasgow market for a rate of 18 shillings yearly.(40)

The most serious internal trade dispute in the burgh was at least in part associated with the change in the balance of power in October 1664. The Dean of Guild returned at that election, Frederick Hamilton, was an experienced officer and long-standing friend of the Bellites. However on 3 May 1665 a petition was submitted to the magistrates by John Liston and John Wood, tanners. They had bought 900 salt hides from James Bogle, merchant in Glasgow, but a quarrel broke out over the weighing and costing of the hides. The buyers wanted to go by 'the commoune tron weightis ... as heir bein practised theis hundreth yeaes bygaine', but the seller preferred his 'awine weightis' and appealed to the Dean of Guild - 'his awine confident, friend and co-pairtner, if not in this particular bargane yit in manye utheris'.

Hamilton went ahead without calling

'ane counsell by his brethrein ... against the constant practique within burgh ... and in ane arbitrarie way, ordained the

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(39) Glasgow Records, III, 78-9.

(40) Ibid., 115. F.N.1.

applicantis furthwith to be committit to prisone, except they wold receive the hydys with the said James Bogle his weightis'.(41)

The tanners pleaded their burgess privileges to no avail, for they were warded and only released on caution. Even then the Dean of Guild's officers badgered them in their 'dwelling houses to their great prejudices and discredit so that they are forced to flee the towne'. Naturally Liston and Wood appealed to Privy Council, who remitted the case to the Glasgow magistrates, who in turn suspended Frederick Hamilton at their pleasure. James Pollok replaced him as Dean of Guild.(42)

Frederick Hamilton does not re-appear in burgh office until after the fall of William Anderson in October 1669, when, by coincidence, he was returned as a councillor. He also secured a review of the 'wrong done to the merchand hous in anno 1665' regarding his dismissal. The 36 members of the House for that year - or as many as survived - met with the Provost and Bailies to elect the new Dean of Guild, and chose Dowhill, younger.(43) Obviously Frederick Hamilton's case was too flagrant to ignore, although he became a Bailie in October 1670, and after the return of John Bell in 1674, enjoyed two successive terms as Dean of Guild. Such was the elastic world of Glasgow politics.

The burgh revenues suffered from the presence of the military throughout this period. In October 1665 the Council received a letter from Sir James Turner, requesting

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(41) Glasgow Records, III, 55-7.

(42) Ibid., 58.

(43) Ibid., 124.

'some little thing monethlie' for the married men of Lord Lithgow's company, to put them on a par with the first three companies stationed in Glasgow, and to keep 'honest mens' houssis frie of the burdine of married persons'.

The magistrates authorised the payment of £48 monthly.(44) In April 1667, seeing as the single soldiers of Dalryell's regiment of foot 'have got no pay for a long tyme; and that his said excellence the lord generall may prove heirafter less behovefull and stedable to the toune as all the worth of their quartering will extent to', (45) the magistrates subsidised their costs. These payments were in effect 'protection money'.

In an effort to balance their books the Merchants' and Trades' Houses decided to raise the malt excise by 15 shillings per mask to cope with a stent of £780 monthly for twelve months levied by the Convention of Estates on 23 January 1667.(46) Not only was the Dutch War costing the Scots dear in trade, but they were being squeezed to meet military costs. The Council were still trying to recover Argyle's debts. The Argyle Estates had been forfeited to the crown in 1661, which made repayment even more unlikely, but in January 1666 the Provost was directed to press young Argyle to prepare a submission to the Archbishop relating to his father's debts. If this failed the Provost was to join with the other Argyle creditors in preparing a law suit.(47)

(44) Ibid., 62.

(45) Ibid., 91.

(46) A.P.S., VII, 540. The total levy for Scotland was £72,000 monthly. Aberdeen was charged £800; Dundee, £820 and Edinburgh £4320. Glasgow's share may have been less in consideration of its military garrison.

(47) Glasgow Records, III, 67.

Burnet did his best to help, writing to Lauderdale on their behalf, although he found in October 1666 that

'our magistrates doe most unjustly suspect me as complying with his lordship [Argyle] to their prejudice and therfor I beg your Lordship's mediation on behalfe of our towne without which I have little hope they will come to ane agreement ...'(48)

Burnet went on to petition the King and Sheldon, informing the latter on 9 August 1667 that Argyle was 'much displeased that I should have presumed to complain'.(49) Whatever else may be said of Burnet, he was conscientious in the extreme, doing his best to provide decent stipends for his clergy,(50) and forward the burgh's interests as he saw them. He had a directness of approach which offended the grandees of the nobility,(51) and a unique integrity: but his efforts to extract payment from Argyle failed - the issue was still being pressed in 1700, and was probably never settled.(52)

Despite such financial set-backs, the Council still managed to maintain their policy of extending the Common Good by taking over the lands of Burnecrookes and Mylnedam to the north of the Camlachie Burn (east of the city) and Kinclaithe, south of the said burn. Typically, Burncrookes was sold to the burgh by Dowhill elder.(53) All told

(48) N.L.S., MS.2512, f.91.

(49) Lauderdale Papers, II, Appendix A, xvii-iii.

(50) In February 1664 Burnet pressed Chancellor Glencairn for funds from vacant stipends for his own clergy. See Burnet to Sheldon, 27 February 1664. Lauderdale Papers, II, Appendix A, ii.

(51) Burnet's directness, coupled with an excellent hand, is a boon to historians, comparing very favourably with the diffuseness of many Covenanter scribes.

(52) Glasgow Records, III, 294-5, F.N.1.

(53) Ibid., 52-3; 64. The 'New Green' was well established on Flesher's Haugh east of the Bridge. On 14 March 1666 James Luke, maltman, was appointed to maintain the dykes and keep beasts out at a salary of 20 shillings weekly. Ibid., 68.

Glasgow came through the difficult times of political and religious transition and economic slump fairly well, and indeed prepared the way for a great expansion of its economy in generations to come.

The basic dynamic in Glasgow's enterprise came from men who were prepared to risk their fortunes, if not their lives, in new ventures. Sea trade was of course the key to overcoming internal communications problems and securing new foreign commodities. It was always hazardous and uncertain. When Thomas Hamilton attempted to travel from Greenock to Londonderry on 24 August 1663, his vessel was twice driven back from Holy Isle to Greater Cumbrae, and held there 'in a grott daill of misrie for want of drincke 9 days'.(54) After being blown to Ailsa Craig and up the West Coast, they reached Derry on 8 September. The return voyage to Port Patrick took six hours. When Mr John Livingstone attempted to emigrate from Ireland to New England in September 1636, his hardships were devastating;

'But if ever the Lord spake by his winds and other dispensations, it was made evident to us, that it was not his will, we should go to New England; for we met with a mighty heavy rain out of the North West, which break our rudder, which we got mended, it break much of our gallon-head and fore cross trees, and tore our fore-sail ... a great beam under the gunner-room door broke; seas came in over the round house and broke a plank or two on the deck, and wet all them that were between the decks: we sprung a leak that gave us 700 stroakes in two pumps in the half hour glass; yet we lay at hull a long time

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(54) S.R.O., GD 228 Box 13. The Journal of Thomas Hamilton.

to beat out that storm, till the Master and Company came one morning and told us it was impossible for us to hold out any longer'.(55)

They returned home, and Livingstone never did get to New England.

The Glasgow magistrates were sympathetic towards their peers who suffered losses at sea. On 15 July 1665 they lent £200 'out of the excyse monye to Johne Gemmill, merchand, in respect he is knowne to be ane verie honest man and hes lost his stok be sea venter'.(56) Seamen faced hazards other than wind and weather. Great efforts were made between 1661 and 1663 on behalf of 'John Dennestoune, ane burges sone, who is now in the Turkis hands and desyres earnestlie to be relieved'.(57) In 1672 the 'Golden Salmond' was taken by the Turks on her maiden voyage to Cadiz. Her owner, Provost William Anderson was authorised to solicit funds for the redemption of her crew of 18 by Privy Council in September 1673.(58)

These were among the hazards, but the rewards were potentially great. Glasgow men were making exploratory inroads into the exciting Atlantic trade well before the Tobacco boom of the early eighteenth century.(59)

Tucker describes early ventures in 1655:

(55) A brief historical relation of the life of Mr John Livingstone ... written by himself in Holland, during his banishment for the cause of Christ, (n.p., 1727) p.19.

(56) Glasgow Records, III, 60.

(57) Ibid., II, 477; III, 7.

(58) Anderson, Provosts, p.28; Glasgow Records, III, 168.

(59) T.C. Smout has pointed this out, but tribute should also be paid to William F. Macarthur's excellent History of Port Glasgow, (Glasgow, 1932), pp.34-5. My debt to Macarthur's work will be obvious.

'some ... have adventured as farre as the Barbadoes; but the losse they have sustayned by reason of theyr goeing out and comeing home late every yeare have made them discontinue goeing thither any more ...' (60)

In his shipping lists Glasgow compares very favourably with all the other Scottish ports apart from Leith and Bo'ness. Glasgow had 12 ships with a total tonnage of 957 tons. Aberdeen's 9 ships totalled 440 tons, while Dundee's 10 totalled 615 tons. Leith had 12 or 14 vessels, but several were of 2-300 tons for the Bay and Baltic trade. (61) Glasgow, with Ayr, was a Head Port of Customs. (62) Tucker also lists the Customs and Excise revenues for the year 1 October 1655 to 1 October 1656. The figures for the main ports are as follows:

	<u>Customs</u>			<u>Excise</u>		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Leith	2345	8	10	3532	4	7½
Bo'ness	1469	4	7	764	10	6
Glasgow	534	6	8½	884	8	10½
Dundee	501	18	2½	466	8	8
Aberdeen	472	19	9	356	0	5

All sums in sterling. Glasgow's high excise probably reflects the extensive brewing and distilling trade of the burgh.

This was despite the shallowness of the Clyde - a major reason for Bo'ness's prosperity was of course its function as an out-port for Glasgow, as well as Linlithgow and Stirling. To cut the costs of importing bulk commodities, Walter Gibson risked ships and crews on a direct trade with Scandinavia via Cape Wrath, for iron and

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(60) Tucker's Report, pp.26-7.

(61) Ibid.

(62) Ibid., pp.35-6.

timber.(63) Lighters conveyed the cargo upriver from Newark to Glasgow - apart from such timber as went to build quays and piers at Port Glasgow itself, because Newark was the obvious place to set up an outport for Glasgow. Although negotiations for land there had started in 1664, it was not until January 1668 that the Maxwells of Newark and Glasgow struck a bargain whereby the burgh took 'ane piece of land ... in few, for loadining and livering of their ships there anchoring, and building ane harbour there'.(64) This 'merkland' gave the Maxwells relief from all royal taxation; an annual feu of four merks, and payments in bond amounting to 13,000 merks.

No time was wasted in developing the port. On 27 January 1668, a pier, harbour and houses were ordered to be built at the town's expense. In March, Dowhill younger was re-imbursed for 20 dollars spent on 'ane yooll bought for the toune's use for passing fra the Broomielaw to Newport Glasgow ... to and fra in the toune's bussines'.(65) In anticipation of great things to come, the magistrates ordered the ship-owners to maintain a Port>Returns Book from 5 October 1667. In November, harbour dues were regularised at one merk per French hundreth of salt imported; one rex dollar for all ships of 100 tons and over logged, and thirty shillings scots for all below 100 tons.(66) By December 1668 six cellars were ready to be rented out to merchants on nine-year

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(63) William F. Macarthur, *op.cit.*, pp.32-3.

(64) *Glasgow Records*, III, 101.

(65) *Ibid.*, 101; 103.

(66) *Ibid.*, 97; 99.

lease.(67) Goods still had to be carted to Glasgow, or lightered the twenty miles up river to the new Broomielaw quay for local distribution, but the out-port was ideal for breaking down bulk and re-shipping cargoes: ideal but for the small matter of the Navigation Acts.

Far the greatest threat to Glasgow's enterprise was the English Parliament. Under the Cromwellian Union, the Scots merchant class had a tantalising prospect of free trade with England and the Colonies; but only a prospect, as the Administration, despite good intentions, was pressurised into placing embargoes on the export of Scottish raw materials. Despite this, the Union offered enough for the Scots to seek a new partnership after the collapse of the Cromwellian system in 1659. T.M. Devine has recently disputed the traditional view, instigated by Theodora Keith Pagan, that the Scottish burghs derived little benefit from the Cromwellian Union. Dr Devine, whilst pointing out the local and regional structure of the 'Scottish economy' in the seventeenth century, shows that both Glasgow and Aberdeen used the 'Cromwellian Peace' to re-establish "the level of commercial operations which prevailed before the civil wars".(68) The Restoration commercial policies caused sufficient alienation and hardship to bar compromise on both sides during Lauderdale's attempted political and commercial Union negotiations of 1669-70.

The English 'Navigation Act' of 1660 was designed to

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(67) *Ibid.*, 113.

(68) T.M. Devine, 'The Cromwellian Union and the Scottish Burghs: the case of Aberdeen and Glasgow, 1652-1660' In Scottish Themes ... (Edinburgh, 1976), p.12.

check Dutch competition by confining trade between England and her colonies to English ships or vessels of the respective colonies. Theoretically it kept Scotland out of the Atlantic trade, and the Scottish Parliament retaliated in June 1661 with its own 'Navigation Act', placing impositions on English commodities entering Scotland.(69) However in September 1661 Charles II seems to have exempted Scotland from the Navigation Act's restrictions, which gave her merchants access to Colonial trade and a measure of protection from the Dutch at a stroke.(70) There is however no confirmation that the English Parliament and merchant interests reciprocated the King's generosity. Moreover sanctions against Holland were no deterrent to Dutch enterprise. In July 1663 the Glasgow merchants had to appeal to the ~~Parliament~~ for protection against Dutch traders who were breaking bulk on the Clyde and selling to eager local customers. The Glasgow men explained that they had expended 'the most parte of their fortunes for building of ships and advanceing of trades': ten or twelve ships had already been built, but their very petitions for protection were being opposed by those who bought Dutch goods 'and others concurring with the Dutchmen'.(71) This was the rub - many Scottish interests depended on trade with Holland, and the Dutch Wars damaged their business. The Glasgow 'merchant adventurers' on the other hand profitted from

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(69) A.P.S., VII, 257-8.

(70) Hist. MSS. Comm., 72, Report on the Laing MSS ..., I, 325. (Letter of Sir Robert Murray, Provost of Edinburgh to ? 21 Sept., 1661)

(71) A.P.S., VII, 454.

action against Dutch supremacy. The Privy Council supported their petition of 1663, ordering local authorities to seize illicit cargoes.

One thing is certain, whether legal or under-cover, Glasgow maintained its trading links with the Colonies during the Restoration. T.C. Smout has successfully exploded the myth that Glasgow's prosperity followed the Union of 1707, and 'free trade' within the British mercantilist system.(72) Evidence suggests that the great tobacco trade was under-way long before the 18th century boom. In November 1661 John Cumming, merchant, brought an action in the Dean of Guild Court of Glasgow against Dowhill, elder, regarding the sale and division of

'904 score nyne rollers of Tobacco brought home in that guid ship called the S. Andrewes of Glasgow, and brought up from the sd. schip ta the Broomelaw in Boats'.(73)

The tobacco trade was well enough established for pipe makers to set up business, encouraged by the magistrates. In October 1668 a licence was granted to 'Alexander Watsoune, tobacco pyp maker, for the better friedome of exercing his tred ... to use the libertie of ane burges gratis within this burgh during his lyfetye'. In December 1670 William Stirling, merchant burghess of Glasgow, was permitted to dig for pipe clay, and his interests protected.(74) If further proof of a Virginia trade is required, the Council appointed John Johnstone to repair to Edinburgh in January 1672

(72) See Smout, Enterprise and Merchants.

(73) A View of the Merchants' House of Glasgow ... Presented by A. Orr Ewing, (Glasgow, 1866), p.114.

(74) Glasgow Records, III, 112; 147.

'and ther to do all things necessar, and to imploy whom he pleaseth for stopping of Sir John Watsoune's gift to pass the seallis, grantit be his Majestie to him of thrie shilling vj d. wpon ilk pund of tobacco imported in this kingdome'.(75)

As will be seen below, the refining of sugar in Glasgow suggests trade with the West Indies, and certainly the emigrant and convict ships of John Anderson and Wattie Gibson were not going to return empty.

In May-June 1661 the Scottish Parliament had made a general effort to stimulate the fairly primitive 'national' economy - not that its strictures were always obeyed to the letter or feasible in practice. Acts laid down covered fisheries, soapworks, manufactories, bullion, copper coin, linen companies, shipping, skins and hides etc.(76) As Glasgow prospered, capital from a wide range of private sources became available to finance new schemes: this investment again reveals that cooperation between opponents in politics and religion which mitigated the effects of faction in the economic growth of the burgh.

In fisheries, Government intervention was a mixed blessing on the Clyde. Charles I had attempted to foster British fisheries vis-a-vis the enterprising Dutch between 1632 and 1639 with an 'Association for the Fishing'. Charles II followed suit, setting up a Royal Fishery Company in 1661. This Act of 12 June opened local Societies to Scots who subscribed a minimum of 500 merks.(77) But the established Glasgow herring interests found the local

(75) Ibid., 159.

(76) A.P.S., VII, 203; 250-61.

(77) John R. Elder, The Royal Fisheries Companies of the 17th century. (Aberdeen Universities Studies, No.52; Aberdeen, 1912), p.90-1; A.P.S., VII, 259-61.

branch's privileges a mere monopolistic nuisance: the Clyde fishings, unlike those of the North Sea, were not dominated by the Dutch. Thus the charter awarded Sir John Shaw of Greenock under the Act of June 1661, giving the local company exclusive rights to cure herring at the peak season till the end of September, was bitterly resented by many in Glasgow.(78)

Admittedly other Glasgow interests joined with the company, and attempted to raise their standards to compete with the Dutch cured product. In October 1662 Thomas Crawford of Glasgow and his partners asked Privy Council for permission to employ a Dutch expert in curing as they were about to engage vessels in the North Sea fishing. But local opinion gathered against the monopolists.(79) In June 1672 the Glasgow merchants fell out with 'the manadgers of the Royall Fischeing for exporting herrings, that being their privilege'.(80) In 1677 the Provost went to Edinburgh to petition Lauderdale 'for getting some restriction put to the fischeing company, and some libertie grantit to burgessis to salt herring'.(81) By 1682 the Glasgow chiefs were conspiring to get the Fisherie Company dissolved: they bought the local Society's stores and warehouses in March 1683, and the Company was eventually dissolved in 1690.(82) Salt herring was a useful commodity - not surprisingly, Walter Gibson was credited with innovations in the curing trade. Glasgow merchants

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(78) W.F. Macarthur, op.cit., pp.21-2.

(79) R.P.C. Scot., 3rd ser., I, 271.

(80) John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall, Journals ... 1665-1676, ed. D. Crawford, (S.H.S., xxxvi, Edinburgh 1900) p.219.

(81) Glasgow Records, III, 238.

(82) W.F. Macarthur, op.cit., pp.22-3.

tended to back embassies to Edinburgh and Court with the odd cask of soused herring.

Closely associated with the herring trade was the salt supply. Although salt was produced on the Forth - where coal and brine were in close proximity - Clyde supplies came by ship from England or France: the most convenient means of bulk transport.(83) 'Bay salt' was under embargo in 1671, for Provost William Anderson was sent by the Convention of Burghs to petition Lauderdale at Court on 13 October for freedom to import it again. The Convention also wanted the removal of a tax of 50 'solze' per ton recently imposed by the French on British ships and cargoes: to aid the petition, £1500 sterling was directed towards Lauderdale's purse. Thirdly, the Burghs wanted free trade with Ireland, and an end to the ban on importation of Irish cattle.(84)

They were not so keen on free trade within Scotland, complaining about the invasion of their privileges by mere Burghs of Regality and Barony.(85) Glasgow was facing fierce competition from the dynamic Sir John Shaw of Greenock. On 11 January 1670, his creation's status was raised to that of a free Burgh of Barony, with power to sell wine and other commodities, and deal in salt herring.(86) The Royal Burghs countered with an Act of 10 July 1672 confirming their monopoly of wholesale dealing

(83) An attempt to produce salt at Port Glasgow in 1691, by James Crawford of Gartnavel, failed for lack of convenient coal. W.F. Macarthur, op.cit., pp.27-8.

(84) Convention Records, III, 630-1.

(85) Ibid.

(86) W.F. Macarthur, op.cit., p.21-2.

in the above commodities.(87) However Glasgow's difficulties with Shaw continued. In July 1675 he evaded the Customs House at Port Glasgow, concealing a ship bearing wine, brandy and salt off Ardmore Point across the Clyde. But Glasgow men, backed up by Dumbarton and Renfrew, seized the ship and laid her at Port Glasgow. After a fierce night battle when Greenock tried to recover the cargo, the Glasgow men barely managed to escape to Dumbarton Castle.(88)

Archbishop Burnet was asked to petition the Court against Greenock during his visit of October 1677,(89) and indeed next year Privy Council did attempt to mediate in burgh affairs, reaffirming the interests of Royal Burghs in the importation of wine, brandy and salt, but conceding that other burghs could retail such goods locally after purchase from the Royal Burghs.(90) Government legislation, although coveted by the litigious burghs, was only an official recognition of interests, which had to be secured by vigilance, endeavour and occasional aggression. Glasgow seemed able to secure her progress in all respects.

The big new ventures of the late 1660's and 1670's were the soap and sugar works - a reflection of interest in fisheries and the Atlantic trade. Raw materials for the soap industry could be shipped into the Glasgow area from the developing 'Greenland Fisheries'. In 1667 nine partners, Sir George Maxwell of Pollok, John Bell, Dowhill

(87) A.P.S., VIII, 63.

(88) W.F. Macarthur, pp.35-7.

(89) Ibid., p.37.

(90) Ibid.

elder, John Campbell of Woodside, James Colquhoun, Ninian Anderson, John Graham of Dougalston, John Luke of Claythorn, and Captain John Anderson of the ship 'The Providence', contributed £1500 sterling each 'in order to carry on a great trade towards the Straits and the Greenland fishing'. They built the ship 'Lyon' at 'Belfast, in Ireland, burdened 700 tons, carrying 40 pieces of ordnance, rigging, ammunition, provision and other necessaries'.(91) Two other vessels were provided. Alas M'Ure reports that the whaling venture was unsuccessful, and soap was boiled by 'others' in the soaperie built by the partners. This was a great works 'consisting of four lodgings, cellars, houses of store, and other conveniences of trade, being a pretty square court'.(92) In fact it is quite possible that the partnership had initial success with their whaling. In October 1668 soap boiler Francis Muire was granted a seven-year licence to sell his product - but no other - to Glasgow and the outside world.(93) The Maxwell-Bell syndicate did not start planning their factory until October 1673 when land behind the Fleshmarket by Candleriggs was negotiated with James Bell of Provosthaugh: it was feued in January 1674 at £14 Scots yearly.(94) Sir George Maxwell refers to making over a bond for £1000 [sterling?] to James Bell in September 1674 for his share in the land deal.(95) In April 1676 he was still contributing funds.(96) Whatever

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(91) M'Ure, p.227.

(92) Ibid.

(93) Glasgow Records, III, 112.

(94) Ibid., 173-5.

(95) S.R.A., T-PM, Pollok Maxwell Papers, 123/6, f.17.

(96) Ibid., f.46.

the fate of the partnership, there was still a soap company in Glasgow in 1715 advertising 'good black or speckled soaps'. The firm was languishing by 1849.(97) Not only is it of interest to see Sir George Maxwell in partnership with John Bell, but the presence of the ubiquitous James Colquhoun, wright, suggests that at least one tradesman, albeit well connected, was in big business.

Two sugar refineries were established in Glasgow at this time. The Wester Sugarie was financed in joint-stock by Peter Gemmill, Frederick Hamilton, John Caldwell and Robert Cumming in 1667.(98) Sir George Maxwell may have been a later partner, or at least a good customer, for in June 1676 he refers to a bill of £130 [sterling?] from 'Cumming of the sugarie'.(99) The partners started up in a 'little apartment', employing a Dutch master-boiler. They soon had 'a great stone tenement, with convenient office-houses ... within a great court, with a pleasant garden'.(100) The second sugarie was established around 1675 behind the Fleshmarket - Glasgow's 'industrial suburb'. It was financed by John Graham of Dougalston, a writer in Glasgow and partner in the soaperie, but no relation to the exiled Porterfieldian; John Stark; James and William Craig, and William Anderson - probably the Provost.(101)

It is inconceivable that Glasgow men made such

(97) Glasghu Facies, op.cit., II, 874.

(98) Ibid., 871.

(99) S.R.A., T-PM, Pollok Maxwell Papers, 123/6, f.47.

(100) Glasghu Facies, II, 871.

(101) Glasgow Records, III, 262; 271. F.N.1; Glasghu Facies, II, 871.

investments in a background of continuous trading difficulties and slump. Indeed the burgh seems to have been well to the foreground in the gradual transformation of the 'Scottish' economy. There were casualties of course - William Anderson, John Barnes and even the great Walter Gibson ended their careers in bankruptcy.(102) Yet John Bell, the Dowhills, and Sir George Maxwell of Pollok survived any hardship the soap venture may have dealt them. Like many Scottish investors, the Glasgow men got their fingers burnt in the Darien scheme,(103) but they survived this setback. In general, their efforts had considerable potential for the improvement of Society.

Thus burgh society in the mid 1670's was in rapid transition from the rather narrow traditional confines. Despite the continuing political and religious tensions, Glasgow merchants were exploiting new sources of raw material and luxury commodities abroad, and initiating radical investments at home. Despite competition from Burghs of Barony, Glasgow was looking after its interests effectively and ruthlessly. But the dynamic and enterprise of the successful minority was still witnessed by a substantial body of poor, who were attracted to the new Mecca and yet persistently rejected by it. Their most positive function was as a source of indentured labour for the Colonies. If anything, the treatment of the poor declined as Glasgow prospered. More official efforts were made on their behalf during the brief reign of the Kirk Party than at any subsequent time, although as Gibson

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(102) See Anderson, Provosts, for details of their later careers.

(103) John Gibson, op.cit., p.104.

said, manufactories offered the only positive source of employment for the surplus population attracted to Glasgow. Perhaps Glasgow's very success attracted the dispossessed from outlying areas: certainly their presence strained the patience of burgh society. Burgh society was in effect like a club, depending upon control of its membership for balance and security. Within their limits, prodded by the Kirk, the burgesses did try to care for their own. Their ideal was of course the private charity of benefactors such as the Hutchesons and Sir George Maxwell of Pollok. Sir George combined integrity, religiosity and charity: he was the perfect Covenanted gentleman, and still found time for business.

Conspicuous consumption increased in the burgh as profits rose. So much is evident from references to the employment of a goldsmith;(104) the establishment of a Delft pottery;(105) the employment of Franch, music, and dancing masters,(106) and even an instructress to perfect the manners of aspiring young ladies.(107) Colonel Walter Whiteford opened his coffee house in 1673.(108) Yet practical to the last, Glasgow also encouraged a teacher of navigation - at a moderate salary.(109) This then is the other face of Glasgow society from that portrayed by Wodrow - the triumph of enterprise and investment before the battle for loyalties and souls had been decided: Leviathan had stirred.

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(104) Glasgow Records, III, 49, 31 December 1664.

(105) See S.R.A., B10/15/6369, for a contract between the partners and their pot painters in March 1650.

(106) Glasgow Records, III, 24, 21 November 1663.

(107) Ibid., 180, 20 June 1674, Mistress Cumyng was however finding 'small employment' and the magistrates had to bribe her to stay.

(108) Ibid., 172.

(109) Ibid., 308, 20 December 1681.

Epilogue: the Politics of Glasgow, 1674-89

Alexander Burnet kept a relatively low profile during his second control of the See, maintaining his restored relations with Lauderdale and John Bell. Fountainhall said Burnet was 'a man of much moderation, especially since he was laid aside in 1669'.(1) In 1679 he replaced the assassinated Sharp at St Andrews. His disciple Arthur Ross succeeded him at Glasgow. In burgh circles, John Bell was Provost again in 1675. His ally and relative, James Campbell took over for 1676 and 1677. Bell came back from 1678 to 1681.

In a very limited respect, Government policy towards the Covenanters in the West achieved a measure of success in the early 1670's. The Second Indulgence of 3 September 1672 had attracted over sixty ministers in the area back into the Church.(2) However the indulged Glasgow ministers were out of tune with their younger colleagues elsewhere by 1678. In September 1678 Blackader conveyed a letter from them to the Edinburgh ministers, advising them

'to avoid extremes, but [to] continue preaching with as much order ... as possible; and to caution the young and hot men on the evil consequences of their strifes and divisions about the indulgence'.(3)

But matters had gone too far in activist circles; this appeal was violently rejected.

The problem was that the Indulgences had not been

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(1) Quoted James F. Gordon (ed.), Scotichronicon..., IV, 98.

(2) Wodrow, History, II, 201-4.

(3) Memoirs of Blackader, p.204.

acceptable beyond the narrow moderate circle of the Indulged. The great division of the Presbyterians into extreme and moderate factions - never entirely healed since the Remonstrance of 1650 - was again pending. Even among the Indulged, Ralph Rodger and a few others were in trouble with the authorities before long. In July 1673 Rodger was fined half his stipend for ignoring the anniversary of the Restoration. In 1676 Rodger exceeded his bounds by preaching in Glasgow.(4) Multitudes in the South West had 'acquired from long habit a predilection for conventicles'.(5) In October 1674 Burnet was already prophesising a 'new rebellion' from the 'giddy multitude' in their conventicles.(6) By August 1676 he was extremely alarmed by gatherings all around Glasgow, and on the Kilpatrick Fells, telling Lauderdale that the conventiclers

'are of late so numerous and so insolent that neither our magistrates nor the few soldiers which are left here dare meddle with them. All that we can do is to send out some folk in disguise, who give us some account of their discourses ...'(7)

Of course Burnet blamed the Indulgences for disorder. In January 1676 he and the Duke of Hamilton were in combat over policy. Hamilton complained that Burnet was accusing

(4) Wodrow, History, Fasti, III, 117.

(5) Memoirs of Blackader, pp.181-2.

(6) N.L.S., MS.2512, f.173. Burnet to Lauderdale, 28 October 1674. It should be pointed out that the Government, true-to-form in its 'cat and mouse' policy with the Covenanters, was resurrecting old tensions by applying the Declaration to burgh magistrates among others. We have seen this in the Glasgow election of 1674. It was imposed formally by the Privy Council on 1 March 1676, and in September 1678, together with the Oath of Allegiance. Wodrow, History, II, 323; 501-2.

(7) N.L.S., MS.2512, f.203.

him of favouring a voice for the outed Presbyterians in Government. He categorically denied this but still asserted his opinion that

'the late indulgence had contributed very much to the settling of the disorders that was in these parts by conventicles, and that the enlarging of it was the best remeed to prevent conventicles in other parts'.(8)

Burnet replied that both house and field conventicles were far more frequent

'... since the indulgence ... than before ...; in the citty of Glasgow ... there were not before the indulgence above six or seven persons suspected for keeping conventicles as would appeare by the church registers whereas now there were hardly three tymes so many who did not frequent both house and field conventicles'.(9)

Certainly dissent had penetrated Glasgow society beyond the radical fringe - that enterprising merchant adventurer, Dowhill younger, had become deeply involved in radicalism after the fall of William Anderson. By 1677 he was accused of a wide range of offences from illicit baptism to attendance at six conventicles. He was fined £500 sterling by Privy Council, and confined to Edinburgh Tolbooth from June to October. He was only released after a down-payment of £2000 Scots. In 1678 he was accused of plotting insurrection, but a search of his soap factory revealed only his personal arms. His tussles with Privy Council continued into the 1680's(10) William Anderson's wife was in trouble for conventicling at

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(8) Hist. MSS. Comm., Supp. Report on the Hamilton MSS., p.91-2.

(9) N.L.S., MS.2512, f.192.

(10) Wodrow, History, II, 360; 387; III, 46; Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson, p.91.

Langside in 1679.(11) Sir George Maxwell of Pollok and his son were summoned for conventicling in 1676(12) - obviously Sir George had not been inhibited by his long term under arrest between 1665 and 1670. He also took the precaution of renewing his personal Covenant with God before his death in 1677.(13) The crude device of the 'Highland host' of 1678 alienated a wide section of society in the South West: even the students of Glasgow University sallied out to divest the returning host of some of their spoils at Glasgow Bridge.(14)

The assassination of Sharp in 1679 provoked a general crisis in the Central Lowlands, culminating in the skirmishes at Drumclog, Glasgow and Bothwell Brig. The spirit of the diehards was personified by that ultimate Covenanter, Donald Cargill, ex-minister of Glasgow, who disowned and excommunicated Charles II in June and September of 1680. Cargill at least had kept pace with his younger colleagues - he had refused an Indulgence in 1672. By contrast Glasgow was held in check by her royalist city leaders and a modicum of circumspection. Yet enough support for the Covenanters was evident in the burgh for Privy Council to order the Glasgow magistrates to purge the city of the families of outed ministers, together with all fugitive and vagrant preachers and radical suspects on 22 March 1679, prior to the Drumclog

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(11) S.R.A., T-PM 104/30 Pollok Maxwell Papers.

(12) S.R.A., T-PM 102/21 Pollok Maxwell Papers.

(13) Anderson, Provosts, p.28.

(14) John R. Elder, The Highland Host of 1678, (Aberdeen, 1914) covers the Host's 'peace-keeping' activities in detail. Apparently a fair proportion of the Host came from Lowland estates of the nobility, rather than the Highlands.

crisis. Fines of £100 sterling were to be imposed for each offender left in town by 10 April.(15)

On 13 June the Covenanters in arms responded with a proclamation to the magistrates of Glasgow to 'banish from their town within 48 hours, all Archbishops, Bishops, curates and their minions, together with the royal army, under highest pains'.(16) In the event the Covenanters' first assault on Glasgow was repelled by the Government forces at the battle of Gallowgait, and Provost John Bell feted the victorious army of Monmouth at the expense of local Whigs after Bothwell Brig.(17) Yet Captain Creichton reports that 'The townsmen being too well affected to the rebels, concealed many of them in their houses'.(18) Claverhouse's officers called for the burning of the city, but were restrained by Monmouth's clemency.(19)

This tense situation of reactionary city government and vigorous minority dissent smouldered on through the 1680's: the 'killing time' so dear to Covenanter mythology. In the prelude to this study it was suggested that I.B. Cowan's view that Glasgow men were too busy in trade after 1660 to commit themselves to Presbyterian radicalism must be modified in the light of a detailed study of Glasgow society.(20) However one must concede

(15) Glasgow Records, III, 264.

(16) 'Descriptive Catalogue of the State Papers ... at Hamilton Palace' in Miscellany of the Maitland Club, IV, pt.i, (Glasgow, 1847), p.180.

(17) Memoirs of Captain John Creichton, (ed.) Jonathan Swift, 1731. In Autobiography ..., (London, 1827), p.34.

(18) Ibid., p.31.

(19) Wodrow, History, III, 83.

(20) V.Supra, p.51-51<sup>a</sup>

that although Restoration Glasgow contained moderate covenanters such as Dowhill younger; fervent enthusiasts such as the Pentland Martyrs, and rabbling mobs like the wild women who assaulted Mr John Lees when he tried to disperse a house conventicle in 1678, (21) yet the city was never captured for the radical cause after 1652. None of the Scottish burghs chanced open rebellion in isolation against the Restoration Establishment. Moreover, if the Government could not subdue Dissent, it could - and did - pack burgh Councils, either by direct edict, or through its clients, the Archbishops.

Moreover Glasgow made life easy for the authorities - it provided a ready-made group of establishment conservatives willing to do almost anything to secure power. John Bell was a consistent and genuine royalist and authoritarian - his reception of the Duke of York in 1681 spared no expense - for the burgh purse. (22) It prompted his knighthood. His successor, John Barnes, although not above a sordid snipe at Bell's custody of the vice regal reception silver when he fell out with the Bell-Campbell clique, (23) was equally committed towards the establishment: as a bankrupt he had to be. His successor, John Johnston of Clauchrie, was associated with burgh radicalism, but he soon lost office when he challenged Barnes' dealings with Archbishop Ross. (24) Barnes came back, and was succeeded by that ruthless business-man and friend of episcopacy, Walter Gibson. This conservative power group

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(21) V. Supra, pp. 262-3. F.N. 72.

(22) Glasgow Records, III, 302-4.

(23) Ibid., 339-41.

(24) V. Supra, p. 253.

had always been prominent in the burgh, and had been consistently opposed to radicalism - even in its moderate Glasgow form - since the generation of critical divisions in the city between 1643 and 1648: divisions sealed in March 1652.

Yet there had always been more to city affairs than bigoted feuds over religion, politics and local power. As has always been stressed in this study, Glasgow was above all a merchant's town; far more so than Edinburgh with its wider professional class and resident aristocracy. Therefore this thesis closed with an examination of domestic and trade policies in Restoration Glasgow during the later 1660's: the first two decades of the Restoration were formative years in Glasgow's development.

### Conclusion

In 1648 Glasgow was secured for the Covenanters after the defeat of the Engagement. Since 1645 conservative and radical factions had been struggling for control of the burgh. The radicals, conceiving of themselves as the elect, were in the main 'new men' in burgh politics. The dominant triumvirate, George Porterfield, John Grahame and John Spreule, came from Renfrewshire - a stronghold of the Covenanters. Their local opponents, led by James Bell and Colin Campbell, were burgh merchant patricians who hated to lose their traditional ascendancy in politics. This conservative opposition included 'malignant' and moderate wings.

The Porterfield radicals held power fairly securely until 1650, sustained by the dominant Kirk Party in Parliament. George Porterfield and his colleagues enjoyed a fair influence in the Estates at this time - it was a season for lesser lairds, ministers and burgesses. They attempted to implement the 'national' reforms of education, poor law and public works at home. Their cooperation with the Kirk extended to an active part in Presbytery and Sessions, as ruling elders. However with the defeat at Dunbar in September 1650, the solidarity of the Kirk Party was broken. Radicalism in the West saw the revival of the Western Association, now used as an instrument to check malignancy and shackle the suspect Charles II. Glasgow's civic leaders, and the rising minister, Patrick Gillespie, were prominent in the Association. However this potentially powerful force

dissipated itself in wrangling between moderate and extreme factions, and disintegrated after its first tussle with the Cromwellian army of invasion at Hamilton in December 1650.

The Glasgow radicals were now on the defensive, as the Remonstrance of the Western Association had split the Kirk - moderates like Baillie were now in close sympathy with the burgh conservative establishment. In 1651 the Porterfieldians were besieged by demands for supply by the King's forces and the English invaders. They had no desire to assist either army, but the local 'malignants' eagerly worked for the King. A local action group - the Committee of the Communalty - took over control of the Excise returns, a staple of burgh finance. They aided the royal forces while the official burgh leaders procrastinated. In a 'show-down' between the Committee and the Provost, violence broke out, which was only subdued by departing English troops. During the early summer of 1651 a degree of cooperation between burgh factions prevailed, as the Porterfieldians were under surveillance by the royal forces.

The breaking of the deadlock between the King's army and Cromwell in the Autumn of 1651 led to the final defeat at Worcester, and an apparent reprieve for the Porterfield radicals in Glasgow. This was not to be, for in a brazen exhibition of hypocrisy and self-seeking, the local conservative establishment took advantage of the Porterfieldian opposition to the Tender of Union early in 1652. At an extra-ordinary election in March, the conservative Bell-Campbell clique regained power, sustained

by the English. Even Baillie was momentarily set-back. By this stage the dynamic and zeal of the Porterfieldian radicals may well have been wearing thin in Glasgow, with the burgh exhausted by war and strife. Moreover the Conservatives could plead that the Porterfieldians had set the pattern for purges in the first instance in 1645.

The stage was set for a conservative retrenchment. The ambitious reforms of the radicals were scrutinised and dropped where necessary, as the new leaders proved their financial responsibility and administrative capacity. However if Porterfieldian policy had been hindered by their obstruction, now they found the radicals fighting back through their power in the Kirk. The Porterfieldians had of course become Protesters in the schism of the Kirk in mid 1651. Gillespie now dominated Glasgow ecclesiastical affairs, and effectively took over from where the Porterfield leadership had left off. His group relentlessly 'purged and planted' in the local Presbytery until by late 1655 they had achieved control, exasperating the moderates. As Principal of the College, Gillespie straddled burgh affairs, but he failed to take the final citadel of the Council. John Graham and one or two of his allies did momentarily regain seats in 1655, when elections were restored by the Council of State after the collapse of Glencairn's Rising. But this was not enough, and Gillespie embarked upon a bold series of initiatives at Dalkeith and Westminster to secure a purge of the conservative burgh Council.

However a new and more aggressive generation of

establishment figures emerged - closely related to the existing order of course. John Bell headed a vigorous resistance to Gillespie's pretensions - eagerly assisted by advice from Baillie and the moderate Resolutioners in the Kirk. By late 1658 Gillespie was in retreat, with the Burgh Council contesting his control of patronage in Kirk and College. His group made a fairly negative attempt to provoke strife among the crafts, but the burgh was secure for the conservative merchant class long before the Restoration. Gillespie's influence was far less positive than that of the earlier Porterfield radicals - the element of self-seeking was seldom very far from the surface in his career. He did achieve a solid monument in the new College buildings. In general the Cromwellian Union in Glasgow, as elsewhere in Central Scotland, was a period of relative recovery from the wars for Kirk and King.

The Restoration revived strife in the Kirk in no uncertain manner, but despite tension mounting to guerrilla warfare and pitched battles between the Government forces and the Covenanters, Glasgow moved into a higher gear of enterprise and investment. The moderate party in the Kirk received a terrible blow with the re-establishment of episcopacy, but the Bellite Council had no initial difficulty in adjusting to the settlement. They had a marvellous time proscribing and pestering their old political opponents, and Archbishop Fairfoul seemed to be dominated by Bell. Yet Fairfoul's insecurity vis-a-vis the growing dissent in the West encouraged the tactless Acts of Privy Council of November 1662, which forced

moderates and extremists out of the Kirk. Fairfoul's death and the arrival of Alexander Burnet to the See in late 1663 intensified the struggle - not only with the outed ministers and dissenters, but with John Bell. A personality clash led to Bell's replacement at the head of affairs by William Anderson in October 1664. Anderson was in fact a far less stable support to reaction than Burnet imagined, but he stood back and allowed the Archbishop to pack the local Church with his own 'curates', including men from the North East - Burnet's first See. Meanwhile Burnet had forced the Porterfieldians into exile in Holland, although only John Graham had been conspicuous in dissent since the Restoration.

Burnet's campaigns to pacify the West on behalf of the Holy Alliance of Churchmen, reactionary nobles and hired thugs from the Muscovy service, contributed towards the spontaneous rising of Pentland late in 1666. The Rising was joined by a small band of Glasgow men - committed idealists, with a history of radical involvement - and a group of Renfrewshire lairds, alienated by fines and abuse of their neighbours, including the peerless Sir George Maxwell of Pollok. The Rising, in a time of war with the Dutch, gave opportunity to a group of reformist statesmen, Tweeddale, Moray and Kincardine, under the general command of the Earl of Lauderdale. Their policy of Conciliation and Indulgence was bitterly opposed by Alexander Burnet, eventually leading to his dismissal at the end of 1669.

Just before Burnet went, he had finally tired of William Anderson's regime, and had nominated the Bellite,

James Campbell as Provost. This led, as usual, to a thorough purge of the Council. However in the election of October 1670 the moderate group in the Scottish Government restored Anderson, and a counter-revolution followed. Robert Leighton's administration of the See was popular in civic quarters as he allowed the burgh politicians virtual freedom of elections. His Accommodation Policy, abhorred by Alexander Burnet, was equally rejected by even the moderate Presbyterians. Yet the Second Indulgence brought more of their number back into the Church. Unfortunately their extreme colleagues proved obdurate, and Lauderdale paralleled concession with repression in a classic case of escalating violence and counter-violence.

Glasgow was finally secured for the conservative, royalist and episcopalian cause for the remainder of the Stuart Ascendancy by the dual return of Alexander Burnet to the See, and John Bell to the Provostship, in 1674. However opposition to Government policy survived in Glasgow. The majority of the great merchants kept low, but John Anderson of Dowhill, younger, was in repeated conflict with authority between 1676 and 1683. Likewise William Anderson's wife was involved in conventicling in 1679, and Sir George Maxwell of Pollok revived his commitment just before his death - both in public meeting and personal covenant. There is no sign that these leading figures turned inwards with persecution in our period, and they were backed by a host of lesser folk. The most fascinating aspect of Restoration politics in Glasgow is this split in the ruling elite over Church affairs

and dissent. But despite this, and the connection between burgh dissent and the Covenanter lairds of the surrounding district, it must be conceded that the outlying districts were more radical than the burgh after 1660. This failure to control the city - or any major towns - was a fatal weakness in the Risings of 1666 and 1679.

Despite the differences in politics and religion among the great merchants, they were always careful - even during the Porterfield era - not to jeopardise burgh fortunes and trade. The radicals and conservatives were linked in the quest for profit: only by such apparent inconsistency could the burgh prosper, and risk new trade ventures. The consistent features of burgh politics are the attempts to secure freedom to select officers from within a narrow range of prominent families - euphemistically described as 'freedom of elections' - and this ruthless drive to develop the burgh's trade and industry. Only for a brief and sporadic period during the rule of the Porterfieldians was there an attempt made to aid the under-privileged of the burgh by public sponsorship.

This study is essentially a narrow analysis of an elite, because the poor and the failures only appear as recipients in the sources. However the close analysis of burgh election returns certainly gives a fair indication of the parties within the city. In his reappraisal of attitudes towards the Covenanters Dr Ian Cowan called for local studies and an analysis of the social and economic background of the Solemn Leaguers.<sup>(1)</sup> This study shows that the Glasgow Solemn Leaguers were essentially new men

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(1) Cowan, Ian B. 'The Covenanters: a revision article' S.H.R., xlvii, (1968), 35-52.

in burgh politics, having a common link with Renfrewshire families. Spreule and Grahame were obviously dedicated careerists, combining politics, business and the work of God. Porterfield seems less ruthless, and a consistent man of principle - perhaps something of a figurehead. The Porterfield group developed a consciousness of their right to govern, as the Elect, during their struggles with the Malignants. They naturally became Protesters, but in the process reveal the essential insecurity and limitations of the radical position within the Covenanting movement. David Stevenson has shown how a consistent radical movement evolved in the Kirk, tracing conventicles and the roots of the Protester movement well before the Interregnum and Restoration climactics; but the Glasgow Protesters show that the Scottish radicals could not emulate the English sectarians in rejecting Kingly government. Caught between the Malignants and the English Independents, they fell in the crisis of 1650-52. Despite temptation and introspection as the Kirk prepared to struggle for Charles Stewart at Dunbar, people like John Spreule could not join with Cromwell's army.

Essentially the radical cause in Glasgow after 1652 fails to live up to the dynamic of the period between the Whiggamore Raid of 1648 and Dunbar. Despite all Gillespie's efforts, the opportunity to establish a new order had gone. The struggle against the Restored Episcopacy, although supported by a remnant of the earlier radicals, was on a narrower front, and against far greater odds. Not only had monarchy and bishops been restored, but the Scottish nobility were back in the driving seat.

Indeed one may trace the decline in positive radicalism in Glasgow to the entrenchment of conservative interests well before the Restoration - Gillespie finally failed because the Cromwellian Establishment itself veered steadily to the Right, and refused to give him final control over the burgh Council - a patrician Council which never lost its nerve.

After 1660, despite minority support for the Risings and growing commitment to conventicling and recusancy, the people who really counted in the burgh were the King's men - and their own men. Moreover, although the burgh had a fair degree of freedom in the economic sector, the State was rather more successful in controlling burgh Councils when it suited it. The Restoration State had perfected a technique applied by its predecessors, from the Scottish Estates to the Cromwellian Council of State - that of exploiting local power struggles to provide relatively docile burgh government. This is not to say that Glasgow was a pawn - her enterprising merchants were in the forefront of the emergence of the 'Scottish' economy from a state of insecure under-development: no mean achievement in the centre of the maelstrom of the Covenanting West. The burgh's tenacity and resilience is epitomised in the splendid career of Dowhill younger, who survived all his struggles with Authority - carefully avoiding Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge nonetheless - and emerged as the Father of his city in 1689. Moreover he still preserved his fortune while many of his political and religious opponents crumbled to ruin.



October 1644

Free Election

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
C	Richard Allan	Tanner		
M	John Anderson		Bailie	
C	John Anderson		Master of Work	
C	John Auldcorn			
M	James Barnes			
M	John Barnes			
M	James Bell		Provost	
M	Colin Campbell yr			
C	James Colquhoun	Wright		
M	Robert Darroch			
C	Walter Douglas			
*M	John Fleming		Treasurer	
M	Henry Glen		Dean of Guild	
M	James Hamilton			
M	Matthew Hamilton		Bailie	
M	John Herbertson			
C	Robert Horner			
M	William Hyndshaw			
C	Manasses Lyall	Skinner	Deacon Convener	
C	Henry Marshall			
M	Thomas Morrison			
C	Walter Neilson	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen	
C	William Neilson		Bailie	
C	Gavin Nisbet			
C	Adam Nicol			
M	Thomas Pollock			
M	George Porterfield			
C	Thomas Scott	Baker		
M	Walter Stirling			
M	James Trane			
*C	John Wilson		Water Bailie	

- NOTES**
- 1) 31 names
  - 2) 2 extra-conciliar officers (\*)
  - 3) Changes in personnel - not applicable to 1644

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	Robert Allan			Mainly embryonic radicals of Porterfield's clique
M	Thomas Allan			"
M	Ninian Anderson		Bailie	"
M	James Armour			"
M	Thomas Browne			"
C	Walter Bryce	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen	"
C	William Burgh			"
C	John Caldwell			"
C	William Coutts	Tanner		"
*M	Andrew Cunningham		Dean of Guild	"
M	Gabriel Cunningham			"
*M	Peter Cumming		Master of Work	"
M	William Dunlop			"
C	James Elphinstone			"
*C	Ninian Gilhagie			"
M	John Grahame			"
M	James Hamilton yr			"
M	John Hamilton			"
M	Robert Hamilton		Bailie	"
C	Robert Hoggisyard			"
C	Robert Horner			"
C	Thomas Inglis			"
M	John Johnston			"
C	Peter Johnston		Bailie	"
M	Alexr Laing			"
C	William Lightbody			"
M	James Lochhead			"
*M	Robert Mack		Water Bailie	"
*C	Andrew Mudie		Treasurer	"
M	George Porterfield		Provost	"
C	John Scott			"
M	James Stewart +			"
C	Matthew Wilson			"
C	Robert Wilson			"

- NOTES**
- 1) 34 members
  - 2) 5 extra-conciliar officers
  - 3) James Stewart replaced Peter Paton (refused place as councillor)
  - 4) Merchant numbers made up from 12 to 13 by Gabriel Cunningham
  - 5) 31 changes from 1644 council/officers/magistrates

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	John Anderson, elder 1 - Woodside		Bailie	Mainly conservat- ive estab- lishment
C	John Anderson		Treasurer	"
M	James Barnes			"
M	John Barnes			"
M	James Bell			"
C	John Boyd			"
M	Colin Campbell		Bailie	"
C	James Colquhoun	Wright		"
M	Robert Darroch			"
C	Walter Douglas			"
C	Ninian Gilhagie			"
M	Henry Glen		Water Bailie	"
M	James Hamilton		Dean of Guild	"
M	Matthew Hamilton			"
M	John Herbertson			"
C	Robert Horner			"
M	William Hyndshaw	Late in pipe trade		"
C	Alexr Jaffray	Hammer- man		"
*M	John Louk		Master of Work	"
C	Manasses Lyall	Skinner	Deacon Convener	"
M	Thomas Morrison			"
C	Walter Neilson		Visitor of Maltmen	"
C	William Neilson		Bailie	"
C	Thomas Pollok			"
M	George Porterfield		Provost	"
C	Thomas Scott			"
C	William Shields			"
M	Walter Stirling			"
M	James Trane			"
C	John Wilson			"

- NOTES**
- 1) 30 members
  - 2) 1 extra-conciliar officer
  - 3) 26 changes from previous council & magistrates/  
officers

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
C	Richard Allan	Tanner		Mainly Porter-fieldian radicals
M	Robert Allan			"
*M	Thomas Allan		Treasurer	"
M	Ninian Anderson			"
M	James Armour	Wool merchant		"
M	John Barnes			"
*M	Thomas Browne		Master of Work	"
C	Walter Bryce			"
C	John Caldwell			"
C	William Coutts			"
*M	Andrew Cunningham		Dean of Guild	"
M	Gabriel Cunningham			"
M	Robert Darroch			"
M	William Dunlop		Bailie	"
C	Robert Findlay			"
M	John Fleming			"
C	Ninian Gilhagie		Bailie	"
M	John Grahame			"
M	James Hamilton		Bailie	"
M	John Hamilton			"
M	Matthew Hamilton			"
M	Robert Hamilton			"
C	Robert Hoggisyard			"
M	William Home			"
C	Robert Horner			"
C	Alexr Jaffray	Hammerman		"
C	Peter Johnston			"
C	William Lightbody			"
M	Robert Mack		Water Bailie	"
M	George Porterfield		Provost	"
C	Thomas Scott		Deacon Convener	"
M	James Stewart			"
C	John Wallace	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen	"
C	Robert Wilson			"

- NOTES**
- 1) 34 members
  - 2) 5 extra-conciliar officers
  - 3) 25 changes from 'Council' of Oct. 1646

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant						
C	Richard Allane	Tanner		Porter- fieldian						
M	Thomas Allane									
M	Ninian Anderson	Maltman	Master of Work	Conser- vative						
C	John Auldcorne									
M	James Armour									
M	John Barnes									
*M	Thomas Browne									
C	Walter Bryce									
M	Andrew Cunningham									
M	Gabriel Cunningham									
C	James Duncane									
M	William Dunlope									
C	Robert Findlay				Dean of Guild	Bailie	Porter- fieldian Conser- vative			
M	John Fleming									
C	Ninian Gilhagie									
M	John Grahame									
M	James Hamilton									
M	Mathew Hamilton									
M	Robert Hamilton									
C	Robert Hoggisyaird									
M	William Home									
C	Peter Johnston									
C	William Lightbody	Baker	Bailie Bailie Treasurer	Porter- fieldian						
M	Robert Mack									
*C	John Miller									
M	George Porterfield									
C	Thomas Scott									
*C	Archibald Sempill									
C	David Sheirer				Maltman	Deacon Convener Visitor of Maltmen	Porter- fieldian			
M	James Stewart									
C	John Wallace									
C	Robert Wilson									
									Provost	Porter- fieldian
									Water Bailie	

- NOTES 1) 32 members  
 2) 3 extra-ordinary councillor/officers  
 3) 5 changes in personnel from Council of Jan. 1647

June 1648

Controlled Election

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	John Anderson, elder 1 - Woodside		Bailie	Conservat- ives & Engagers
M	John Anderson yr 2- Dowhill elder			"
C	John Anderson			"
C	John Auldcorne (d.1656)			"
M	James Barnes			"
M	John Barnes			"
M	James Bell			"
M	James Bell yr			"
M	Colin Campbell		Provost	"
C	James Colquhoun	Wright		"
M	Robert Darroche			"
C	James Duncane			"
M	Hendrie Glen			"
*M	James Hamilton		Dean of Guild	"
M	Mathew Hamilton			"
M	Walter Hyndshaw			"
M	John Herbertson			"
C	Robert Horner			"
*C	Manasses Lyall	Skinner	Deacon Convener Master of Work	"
*M	John Luke		Treasurer	"
C	John Miller			"
M	Thomas Morsonne			"
C	Walter Neilson	Maltman		"
C	William Neilson	Maltman	Bailie	"
M	Thomas Pollok			"
*C	Archibald Sempill	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen	"
C	David Sheirer			"
*C	Walter Stirling		Water Bailie	"
M	James Trane		Bailie	"
M	Daniel Wallace			"
C	Adam Wilson			"
C	John Wilson elder			"
C	John Wilson yr			"
C	John Young			"

NOTES 1) 34 members  
 2) 5 extra-ordinary councillor/officers  
 3) 26 changes from Council of Oct. 1647

October 1648

Controlled Election

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
C	Richard Allane			Mainly Porter-fieldian radicals
M	Robert Allane			"
M	Thomas Allane		Bailie	"
M	Ninian Anderson		Bailie	"
M	James Armour			"
M	John Barnes			"
M	Thomas Browne			"
C	Patrick Bryce	Weaver ?		"
C	Walter Bryce	Maltman		"
M	Cuthbert Campbell			"
M	Gabriel Cunningham			"
*M	Peter Cumming		Water Bailie	"
C	John Donnigrew			"
M	William Dunlop		Dean of Guild	"
C	Robert Findlay			"
C	Ninian Gilhagie			"
M	John Grahame			"
M	James Hamilton			Conservative
M	Robert Hamilton			Mainly Porter-fieldian radicals
C	Robert Haggisyaird			"
M	William Home			"
C	Robert Horner			"
C	Peter Johnston		Bailie	"
*M	James Kincaid		Treasurer	"
C	William Lightbody		Deacon	"
			Convener	"
C	Andrew Love			"
M	Robert Mack			"
M	George Porterfield		Provost	"
*M	Edward Robison		Master of Work	"
C	Thomas Scott			"
M	James Stewart			"
*C	John Wallace		Visitor of Maltmen	"
C	Robert Wilson			"

- NOTES
- 1) 33 members
  - 2) 4 extra-ordinary councillor/officers
  - 3) 30 changes in personnel from the Council of June 1648

October 1649

Free Election

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	Robert Allane			Mainly Porter-fieldian radicals
M	Thomas Allane			"
M	Ninian Anderson			"
C	Robert Boyd			"
M	Thomas Browne			"
C	Patrick Bryce	Weaver ?		"
C	Walter Bryce	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen	"
M	Cuthbert Campbell			"
C	Thomas Campbell			"
C	Robert Cumming			"
M	Gabriel Cunningham			"
M	William Dunlop		Bailie	"
C	James Elphinstone			"
*C	Robert Findlay		Water Bailie	"
C	Ninian Gilhagie		Bailie	"
M	John Grahame		Dean of Guild	"
M	James Hamilton			Conservative
M	Robert Hamilton			Mainly Porter-fieldian radicals
C	Robert Hoggisyaird			"
M	William Home		Bailie	"
*C	Thomas Inglis		Treasurer	"
M	James Irvine			"
M	John Johnston			"
C	Peter Johnston			"
C	William Lightbody		Deacon Convener	"
M	Robert Mack			"
C	Walter McCallar			"
M	George Porterfield		Provost	"
*M	Edward Robison		Master of Work	"
C	Thomas Scott	Baker		"
M	James Stewart (d. April 1653)			"
C	Robert Wilson			"

- NOTES 1) 32 members  
 2) 3 extra-ordinary councillor/officers  
 3) 8 changes in personnel from the Council of Oct. 1648

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
C	Patrick Adam			Mainly Porter-fieldian radicals
M	Thomas Allane			"
M	Ninian Anderson			"
M	James Armour			"
M	Thomas Browne		Bailie	"
C	Patrick Bryce	Weaver ?		"
C	Walter Bryce	Maltman		"
C	Thomas Campbell		Visitor of Maltmen	"
C	William Coutts			"
M	Gabriel Cunningham (d. March 1651)			"
M	John Cunningham			"
M	William Dunlop		Dean of Guild	"
C	James Elphinstone			"
C	Ninian Gilhagie			"
*M	Hendrie Glen		Treasurer	"
M	John Grahame		Provost	"
*M	James Gray		Master of Work	"
M	James Hamilton			Conservative
M	Robert Hamilton			Mainly Porter-fieldian radicals
M	William Home			"
C	Thomas Inglis			"
M	John Johnston			"
C	Peter Johnston		Deacon Convener	"
M	James Kincaid		Water Bailie	"
C	William Lightbody		Bailie	"
M	Robert Mack			"
C	William Philip			"
M	George Porterfield			"
M	Edward Robison			"
C	Thomas Scott	Baker		"
C	Robert Wilson			"

- NOTES 1) 31 members  
 2) 2 extra-ordinary councillor/officers  
 3) 9 changes in personnel from Council of Oct. 1649

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	James Barnes			Mainly Porter-fieldian radicals
C	Robert Boyd			"
M	Thomas Browne			"
C	Patrick Bryce	Maltman Weaver	) Treasurer ?	"
C	Patrick Bryce			"
C	Thomas Campbell		Bailie	"
M	Andrew Clark			"
C	William Coutts			"
M	John Cunningham			"
M	Robert Duncan			"
M	William Dunlop		Dean of Guild	"
C	James Elphinstone			"
*?	Andrew Gibson		Master of Work	"
C	Ninian Gilhagie			"
*M	Hendrie Glen		Water Bailie	"
C	William Govane			"
M	John Grahame			"
M	James Hamilton			Conservative
M	William Home			Mainly Porter-fieldian radicals
C	Thomas Inglis			"
M	John Johnston			"
M	James Kincaid		Bailie	"
C	William Lightbody		Deacon	"
M	Robert Mack		Convener	"
*C	John Park	Maltman	Bailie	"
			Visitor of Maltmen	"
M	Thomas Patterson			"
C	John Pittiloche			"
M	George Porterfield		Provost	"
M	Edward Robison			"
M	William Robison			"
C	Thomas Scott	Baker		"
C	Robert Wilson			"

NOTES

- 1) 32 members
- 2) 3 extra-ordinary councillor/officers
- 3) 10 changes in personnel (1 death) from Council of Oct. 1650

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	John Anderson, elder 1 - Woodside		Bailie	Engager
M	John Anderson yr 2 - Dowhill Elder			Engager
M	William Barclay			
M	James Barnes			Engager
M	James Bell			Engager
C	George Broome			
M	Colin Campbell			Engager
C	James Colquhoun			Engager
*C	Gabriel Corbet		Treasurer	
M	Peter Cumming			
C	Robert Cumming			
M	Andrew Cunningham			
M	Mr. John Dunlop			
C	John Glen			
*	John Govane		Master of Work	
C	John Hall			
M	James Hamilton		Dean of Guild	Engager
M	John Herbertson, elder			Engager
*C	Manasses Lyall		Deacon Convener	Engager
C	John Miller			Engager
*C	James Morrison		Visitor of Maltmen	
C	Andrew Moodie			
C	Walter Neilson		Bailie	Engager
C	William Neilson			Engager
M	Patrick Park			
C	John Pittiloche			
M	James Pollok		Bailie	
C	Phyllan Snype			
C	Arthur Taccatis			
M	James Trane			Engager
M	John Walkinshaw			
M	Daniel Wallace		Provost	Engager
C	Adam Wilson			
*C	John Wilson		Water Bailie	Engager

- NOTES**
- 1) 34 members
  - 2) 5 extra-ordinary councillor/officers
  - 3) 32 changes in personnel from Council of Oct. 1651
  - 4) 15 members of Engagement Council of June-Oct. 1648 returned (5 as officers, including Provost). No Porterfieldians returned

October 1652

Nominated Election

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	John Anderson, elder - Woodside		Bailie	Engager
M	John Anderson, yr <sup>2</sup> - Dowhill Elder			Engager
M	James Barnes			Engager
M	James Bell			Engager
C	George Broome			
C	John Buchanan, yr			
M	Colin Campbell, yr			Engager
M	James Campbell			
C	James Colquhoun			Engager
C	Gabriel Corbet			
C	Robert Cumming			
M	William Cumming			
M	John Dunlop			
*?	James Govane		Master of Work	
C	John Hall	Surgeon		
M	James Hamilton		Dean of Guild	Engager
M	John Herbertson, yr			
*M	John Luke		Treasurer	Engager
C	Manasses Lyall	Skinner	Deacon Convener	Engager
C	George Lyonn			
*C	John Miller	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen	Engager
C	John Miller	Tailor		
C	Andrew Moodie			
C	Walter Neilson	Maltman	Bailie	Engager
C	William Neilson			Engager
M	James Orr			
M	Patrick Park		Bailie	
M	James Pollok			
C	Arthur Taccattis			
M	James Trane			Engager
M	John Walkinshaw			
M	Daniel Wallace (d. Aug. 1654)		Provost	Engager
*C	John Wilson		Water Bailie	Engager

- NOTES**
- 1) 33 members
  - 2) 4 extra-ordinary Councillor/officers
  - 3) 7 changes in personnel since the Council of March 1652
  - 4) 15 former members of the Engagement Council of June-Oct. 1648 returned. No Porterfieldians

October 1655

Free Election

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
*M	Mathew Aitken		Treasurer	
M	Thomas Allane			Porter-fieldian ?
M	John Anderson 1 - Woodside		Provost	Engager
M	John Anderson 2 - Dowhill Elder		Bailie	Engager
M	James Barnes			Engager
M	James Bell			Engager
*M	John Bell		Dean of Guild	
C	George Broome			
M	Colin Campbell			Engager
M	James Campbell			
C	James Colquhoun			Engager
C	William Coutts			
M	Andrew Cunningham			
C	James Duncan			Engager
M	John Grahame			Porter-fieldian
C	John Hall	Surgeon		
M	Frederick Hamilton			
M	James Hamilton			Engager
M	Robert Hamilton			
C	John Kerr			
M	John Luke			Engager
C	Manasses Lyall			Engager
C	John Miller	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen	Engager
C	John Miller	Weaver	Water Bailie	
C	James Moodie			
C	Walter Neilson	Maltman	Deacon Convener	Engager
C	William Neilson	Maltman	Bailie	Engager
M	Patrick Park			
M	James Pollock			
*M	David Scott		Master of Work	
C	Thomas Scott	Baker		Porter-fieldian
M	James Trane			Engager
M	John Walkinshaw		Bailie	

- NOTES 1) 33 members. 14 merchants returned  
 2) 3 extra-ordinary councillor/officers  
 3) 13 changes in personnel from Council of Oct. 1652  
 4) 14 members of the Engagement Council of June-Oct. 1648 returned. 3 Porterfieldians returned

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	Mathew Aitken			
M	Thomas Allane		Bailie	Porterfieldian ?
M	John Anderson <sup>2</sup>			Engager
	- Dowhill Elder			
M	John Anderson <sup>1</sup>		Provost	Engager
	- Woodside			
M	William Anderson, yr			
M	James Barnes			Engager
M	John Bell		Dean of Guild	
*C	Patrick Bryce	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen	Porterfieldian ?
M	James Campbell			
C	Robert Carruthers			
C	James Colquhoun	Wright		Engager
C	William Coutts			
M	Andrew Cunningham		Bailie	
C	James Duncane			Engager
M	John Fleming			
C	John Hall	Surgeon	Bailie	
+M	John Grahame			Porterfieldian
M	James Hamilton, elder			Engager
C	Alexander Jaffray			
C	John Kerr			
*C	John Liston		Treasurer	
M	John Luke			Engager
C	Manasses Lyall			Engager
*?	Alexander McKinnie		Water Bailie	
C	John Miller	Maltman		Engager
C	John Miller	Tailor		
C	Walter Neilson	Maltman	Deacon Convener	Engager
C	William Neilson	Maltman		Engager
M	James Pollok			
M	Robert Rae			
*?	Adam Ritchie		Master of Work	
M	David Scott			
M	John Walkinshaw			

- NOTES**
- 1) 33 members
  - 2) 4 extra conciliar councillors/officers
  - 3) 9 changes in personnel from the Council of Oct. 1655
  - 4) 11 members of the Engagement Council of June-Oct. 1648 returned. 3 Porterfieldians returned

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	Mathew Aitken			
M	Thomas Allane			Porter-fieldian
M	John Anderson 1 - Woodside			Engager
M	John Anderson 2 - Dowhill Elder		Provost	Engager
M	Robert Anderson			
M	James Barnes		Bailie	Engager
M	John Bell			
*M	James Campbell		Dean of Guild	
C	James Colquhoun	Wright		Engager
C	Gabriel Corbet			
M	Andrew Cunningham			
M	William Dunlop			
M	Hendrie Glen			Engager
C	Mr. Archibald Grahame			
M	John Graham			Porter-fieldian
M	Frederick Hamilton			
M	James Hamilton, yst			Engager
C	John Kerr			
C	William Knox			
C	Manasses Llyall	Skinner	Deacon Convener	Engager
*M	Daniel McGilchrist		Treasurer	
*?	Alexander McKinnie		Water Bailie	
C	John Miller	Tailor		
C	John Miller	Maltman		Engager
C	Andrew Moodie			
C	Walter Neilson	Maltman	Bailie	Engager
C	William Neilson	Maltman		Engager
M	James Pollock			
M	Robert Rae			
*?	Adam Ritchie		Master of Work	
C	James Waddrop	Cordiner		
M	John Walkinshaw		Bailie	
C	Robert Wilson			Porter-fieldian ?

- NOTES
- 1) 33 members
  - 2) 4 extra-ordinary councillor/officers
  - 3) 10 members of Engagement Council of June-Oct. 1648 returned
  - 4) No Visitor of Maltmen elected
  - 5) 13 changes in personnel from Council of Oct. 1657
  - 6) 3 Porterfieldians returned

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
C	Thomas Aitcheson			
M	Mathew Aitken			
M	Thomas Allane			Porter- fieldian
M	John Anderson <sup>3</sup> yr - Dowhill			Engager
M	Robert Anderson			
*M	John Barnes, elder		Water Bailie	Engager
C	William Boyd			
M	John Bell		Provost	
C	Daniel Browne			
M	James Campbell		Dean of Guild	
C	George Clarke			
C	John Clarke			
C	James Colquhoun	Wright	Treasurer	Engager
M	William Cumming			
M	Henry Glen			Engager
C	Mr. Archibald Grahame			
M	Robert Gray			
*M	William Gray		Master of Work Bailie	
M	Frederick Hamilton			
M	James Hamilton, yst			Engager ?
C	John Kerr			
M	James Lang			
C	John Lindsay			
M	Daniel McGilchrist			
C	John Miller	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen Bailie	Engager
C	Andrew Moodie			
M	James Pollock			
M	Robert Rae		Bailie	
C	David Robison			
C	James Waddrop	Cordiner		
M	John Walkinshaw			

- NOTES**
- 1) 32 members
  - 2) 2 extra-ordinary councillor/officers
  - 3) 6 members of Engagement Council of June-Oct. 1648 returned. Only one Porterfieldian returned
  - 4) No Deacon Convener of Crafts returned - controversy
  - 5) 14 changes in personnel from Council of March 1658

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
C	Thomas Aitcheson			
M	Mathew Aitken			
M	Thomas Allane			Porter- fieldian
M	John Anderson ?			Engager
M	Robert Anderson			
*M	James Barnes		Dean of Guild	Engager
*M	John Barnes		Water Bailie	Engager
M	John Bell		Provost	
C	William Boyd			
M	John Boyle			
C	Daniel Browne			
C	John Buchanan			
*M	Colin Campbell		Treasurer	Engager
M	James Campbell		Bailie	
C	James Colquhoun	Wright	Bailie	Engager
M	William Cumming			
M	Hendrie Glen			Engager
C	Mr. Archibald Grahame			
M	Robert Gray			
*M	William Gray		Master of Work	
M	Frederick Hamilton			
M	James Hamilton			
C	John Kerr			
C	John Lindsay			
M	Donald McGilchrist			
C	Robert Marshall			
C	John Miller	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen	Engager
C	Andrew Moodie			
M	James Pollock		Bailie	
M	Robert Rae			
C	David Robison			
C	James Waddrop	Cordiner		
M	John Walkinshaw			

- NOTES**
- 1) 33 members
  - 2) 4 extra-ordinary councillor/officers
  - 3) 8 members of the Engagement Council of June-Oct. 1648 returned. Only one Porterfieldian returned
  - 4) No Deacon Convener of Crafts returned - controversy continues
  - 5) 5 changes in personnel from Council of Oct. 1658

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
C	Thomas Aitcheson			
M	John Anderson 2			
	- Dowhill, Elder			Engager
*C	Ninian Anderson	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen	
M	Robert Anderson			
M	James Barnes		Bailie	Engager
M	John Barnes, elder			Engager
M	John Bell			
M	Mr. Patrick Bell			
C	John Birscat			
C	William Boyd			
C	Daniel Browne			
M	Colin Campbell 2, yr		Provost	Engager
M	James Campbell			
C	John Clark			
C	James Colquhoune	Wright		Engager
*?	Hendrie Craige		Master of Work	
C	Gabriel Cumming			
M	William Cumming			
M	Hendrie Glen			Engager
M	Frederick Hamilton		Dean of Guild	
M	James Hamilton, elder			Engager
C	John Kerr		Bailie	
*C	Manasses Lyall	Skinner	Deacon Convener	Engager
C	John Lindsay			
*M	John McEwan		Water Bailie	
C	John Maxwell			
C	Andrew Moodie			
*C	John Moodie		Treasurer	
M	James Pollok			
M	John Purveyance			
M	Robert Rae			
C	Archibald Shields			
C	James Waddrop			
M	John Walkinshaw		Bailie	

- NOTES**
- 1) 34 members
  - 2) 5 extra-ordinary councillor/officers
  - 3) 12 changes in personnel from the Council of Oct. 1659
  - 4) 8 members of the Engagemet Council of June-Oct. 1648 returned. No Porterfieldians returned

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
C	Thomas Aitcheson			
M	John Anderson <sup>2</sup>			
	- Dowhill, elder			
M	Robert Anderson			
M	John Barnes			
M	John Bell			
M	Patrick Bell		Bailie	
C	Robert Boyd	Tailor		
C	William Boyd	Mason		
C	Daniel Browne			
M	Colin Campbell <sup>2</sup>		Provost	
M	James Campbell			
C	James Colquhoun	Wright		
*	Henry Craig		Master of Work	
M	William Cumming		Bailie	
M	Peter Gemmill, yr			
M	Henry Glen			
C	Alexr Govan	Glover		
M	William Gray			
M	Frederick Hamilton		Dean of Guild	
C	John Kerr			
C	John Lindsay	Maltman		
C	Manasses Lyall	Skinner	Deacon Convener	
*M	John McEwan		Water Bailie	
C	James Mitchell	Cordiner		
C	Andrew Moodie		Bailie	
C	John Moodie			
*M	Hugh Nisbit		Treasurer	
M	James Pollok			
M	John Purveyance			
M	Robert Rae			
C	Arch. Shields	Maltman		
M	John Walkinshaw			
*C	John Watson	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen	

- NOTES 1) 33 members  
 2) 4 extra-conciliar officers  
 3) 8 changes in personnel from 1660

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
C	James Anderson	Cooper		
M	John Anderson, yr 2			
M	John Anderson, elder 1			
*C	Ninian Anderson	Maltman	Treasurer	
M	John Barnes		Dean of Guild	
M	John Bell		Provost	
M	Mr. Patrick Bell			
C	Robert Boyd	Tailor		
C	William Boyd	Mason		
C	Daniel Browne			
M	Colin Campbell, elder		Water Bailie	
M	James Campbell		Bailie	
M	Robert Campbell			
C	James Colquhoune	Wright	Bailie	
C	Matthew Cumming	Flesher		
M	William Cumming			
M	Peter Gemmill, yr			
C	Alexr Govan	Glover		
M	Frederick Hamilton			
C	John Kerr			
C	John Lindsay	Maltman		
*C	John Miller		Deacon Convener	
C	Thomas Miller	Wright		
C	James Mitchell	Cordiner		
C	Andrew Moodie			
M	Hugh Nisbit			
*C	John Orr		Master of Work	
M	James Pollok			
M	John Purveyance			
M	Robert Rae		Bailie	
C	Archibald Shields	Maltman		
M	John Walkinshaw			
*C	John Watson	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen	

- NOTES** 1) 33 members  
 2) 4 extra-conciliar officers  
 3) 8 changes in personnel from 1661

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	John Anderson 1?, elder			
C	Ninian Anderson	Maltman		
M	John Barnes		Dean of Guild	
M	John Bell		Provost	
M	Mr. Patrick Bell			
C	William Boyd			
*M	John Boyle		Water Bailie	
M	Colin Campbell, elder			
M	Colin Campbell, yr			
M	James Campbell			
M	Robert Campbell		Treasurer	
C	James Colquhoun	Wright	c. Bailie	
C	Matthew Cumming	Flesher		
M	William Cumming			
M	Peter Gemmill			
M	Frederick Hamilton			
M	John Herbertson			
C	Alexr Jaffray	Hammerman		
C	John Kerr			
C	John Lindsay	Maltman		
C	John Miller	Tailor	Deacon Convener	
C	Thomas Miller	Wright		
C	James Mitchell	Cordiner		
C	Andrew Moodie			
M	Hugh Nisbit			
*?	John Orr		Master of Work	
M	James Pollok			
M	Robert Rae		Bailie	
C	Archibald Shields	Maltman		
C	James Waddrop			
M	John Walkinshaw			
*C	John Wallace	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen	

- NOTES**
- 1) 32 members
  - 2) 3 extra-conciliar officers
  - 3) Nom. by Archbishop in absentia - cont'd old magistrates.
  - 4) 7 changes in personnel from 1662

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	Thomas Allan 3			Porter-fieldian ?
M	John Anderson 2			
	- Dowhill, elder			
M	John Anderson 3			
	- Dowhill, yr			
M	Robert Anderson			
M	William Anderson		Provost	
M	John Bell			
*C	James Birscat		Master of Work	
C	William Boyd	Mason		
M	James Campbell			
*M	John Caldwell		Water Bailie	
C	Robert Carruthers			
C	James Colquhoun	Wright		
C	Alexr Eglinton			
M	Peter Gemill			
M	William Gray			
*M	Frederick Hamilton		Dean of Guild Bailie	
M	John Herbertson			
C	Alexr Jaffray	Hammerman		
M	James Kerr			
C	John Kerr		c. Bailie	
C	Manasses Lyall	Skinner		
M	Donald McGilchrist 3			
M	Marcus Marshall			
C	John Miller	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen	
C	John Miller, late Deacon Convener	Tailor		
C	Andrew Moodie			
C	Walter Neilson		Deacon Convener	
M	John Parland			
M	James Pollok		Bailie	
C	Daniel Purdon			
M	Robert Rae			
C	James Waddrop	Cordiner		
M	John Walkinshaw			
*C	John Watson	Maltman	Treasurer	

- NOTES**
- 1) 33 members
  - 2) 4 extra-conciliar officers
  - 3) Donald McGilchrist replaced Thomas Allan on 19 October as Allan 'inabilitie'
  - 4) Nominated election
  - 5) 16 changes in personnel from 1663

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	John Anderson <sup>2</sup>			
	- Dowhill, elder			
M	John Anderson <sup>3</sup>			
	- Dowhill, yr			
M	Robert Anderson			
M	William Anderson		Provost	
*C	James Birsat		Master of Work	
C	William Boyd	Mason		
*M	John Caldwell		Water Bailie	
C	Robert Carruthers			
C	Alexr Eglinton			
M	Peter Gemmill		Bailie	
M	Wm Gray			
-+	Mr. John Herbertson		Procurator Fiscal	
M	John Herbertson		Gorbals Bailie	
C	Alexr Jaffray	Hammerman		
M	John Johnstone			
M	James Kerr			
C	John Kerr			
C	Manasses Lyall	Skinner		
M	Donald McGilchrist			
M	Robert McUre			
M	Marcus Marshall			
C	John Miller	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen	
C	John Miller	Tailor	c. Bailie	
C	Andrew Moodie			
C	Walter Neilson		Deacon Convener	
M	John Parland			
*M	Thomas Peadie		Treasurer	
M	James Pollok		Dean of Guild	
C	Daniel Purdon			
M	Robert Rae			
C	James Waddrop	Cordiner		
M	John Walkinshaw		Bailie	
C	John Watson	Maltman		

- NOTES
- 1) 32 members (don't count Procurator Fiscal)
  - 2) 3 extra-conciliar officers
  - 3) Nominated election
  - 4) 4 changes in personnel from 1664

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	John Anderson 2 - Dowhill, elder			
M	John Anderson 3 - Dowhill, yr		Bailie	
M	Robert Anderson		Provost	
M	William Anderson		Master of Work	
*M	Thomas Bogle		c. Bailie	
C	William Boyd	Mason		
M	John Caldwell			
C	Robert Carruthers			
C	Alexr Eglinton			
M	Peter Gemmill			
M	William Gray			
M	John Herbertson		Gorbals Bailie	
-	Mr. John Herbertson		Procurator Fiscal	
C	Alexr Jaffray	Hammerman		
M	John Johnston			
M	James Kerr			
C	John Kerr			
C	Manasses Lyall	Skinner		
M	Donald McGilchrist			
M	Robert McUre			
M	Marcus Marshall			
C	John Miller	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen	
C	John Miller, late Bailie	Tailor	Deacon Convener	
C	Andrew Moodie		Gorbals Bailie	
*M	Thomas Peadie		Water Bailie	
M	James Pollok			
C	Daniel Purdon			
M	Robert Rae		Bailie	
*C	Robert Scot	Baker ?	Treasurer	
C	James Waddrop	Cordiner		
M	John Walkinshaw		Dean of Guild	
C	William Wallace			
C	John Watson	Maltman		

NOTES

- 1) 32 members returned
- 2) 3 extra-conciliar officers
- 3) Nominated election .
- 4) The Procurator Fiscal's is the office of a professional, like town clerk's , therefore it is not included in statist
- 5) 3 changes in personnel since 1665

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	John Anderson <sup>2</sup>		Provost	
	- Dowhill, elder			
M	John Anderson <sup>3</sup>			
	- Dowhill, yr			
-	James Anderson, son of W.A.		- Bailie & Collector in Provan	
M	Ninian Anderson			
M	William Anderson			
M	Thomas Bogle		Master of Work Bailie	
M	John Caldwell			
C	Robert Carruthers	Tailor		
C	James Davidson	Tailor		
C	Alexr Eglinton			
C	James Fairie			
M	Peter Gemmill		- Gorbals Bailie	
M	William Gray			
C	Alexr Jaffray	Hammerman		
M	John Johnston			
M	James Kerr		Treasurer c. Bailie	
C	John Kerr			
C	Manasses Lyall	Skinner		
M	Donald McGilchrist			
M	Robert McUre			
M	Marcus Marshall			
C	John Miller	Tailor	Deacon Convener	
C	John Miller	Maltman		
*M	Thomas Peadie		Water Bailie Bailie	
M	James Pollok			
C	Daniel Purdon			
M	Robert Rae			
C	Robert Scott			
M	John Walkinshaw		Dean of Guild	
*C	John Wallace	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen	
C	William Wallace			
C	John Watson	Maltman		

- NOTES
- 1) 31 members
  - 2) 2 extra-conciliar officers
  - 3) Nominated election
  - 4) 4 changes in personnel since 1666

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	John Anderson 2			
	- Dowhill, elder			
M	John Anderson 3			
	- Dowhill, yr			
M	Ninian Anderson			
M	William Anderson		Provost	
M	Thomas Bogle		Master of Work	
M	John Caldwell			
C	Robert Carruthers			
C	Alexr Eglinton			
C	James Fairie		c. Bailie	
M	Peter Gemmill		Bailie	
+M	John Gilhagie			
M	William Gray			
C	Alexr Jaffray	Hammerman		
M	John Johnston			
M	James Kerr			
+C	Manasses Lyall	Skinner	Deacon Convener	
M	Donald McGilchrist			
M	Robert McUre			
C	John Miller (convener)	Tailor	Water Bailie ?	
C	John Miller	Maltman	?	
M	James Pollok			
C	Daniel Purdon			
M	Robert Rae		Dean of Guild	
+C	Robert Scott			
C	Thomas Scott		Treasurer	
[C	Robert Tennent		Visitor of Gardeners ]	
C	James Waddrop	Cordiner		
M	John Walkinshaw		Bailie	
C	William Wallace		Visitor of Maltmen & M	
C	John Watson	Maltman		

- NOTES** 1) 29 members (don't count Visitor of Gardeners)  
 2) No extra-conciliar officers (very small council)  
 3) 4 changes in personnel since 1667  
 +4) John Gilhagie refused his place, and Manasses Lyall and Robert Scott died in office. Just before the election of October 1669, on 2 October, they were replaced by John Anderson, merchant, brother of Provost William Anderson, and John Wood and John Liston, craftsmen. See Glasgow Records, III, 122

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	John Anderson <sup>2</sup>			
	- Dowhill, elder			
M	John Anderson <sup>3</sup>		Dean of	
	- Dowhill, yr		Guild	
M	Ninian Anderson		Bailie	
M	William Anderson			
M	John Barnes, elder			
M	John Barnes, yr			
M	John Bell			
M	Colin Campbell, yr			
M	James Campbell		Provost	
C	James Campbell, yr	Maltman		
M	Robert Campbell, yr			
C	James Colquhoun	Wright		
C	Gabriel Corbet	Tanner		
*	Henry Craig		Master of	
			Work	
C	James Davidson	Tailor		
*C	John Findlay	Maltman	Visitor of	
			Maltmen	
C	Alexr Govan	Glover		
M	Frederick Hamilton			
-C	William Hutcheson		Visitor of	
			Gardeners	
M	James Kerr		Bailie	
M	John Louk, yr		Treasurer	
M	John McEwan			
M	Marcus Marshall			
C	John Miller	Tailor		
C	Thomas Miller	Wright		
C	Andrew Moodie			
M	Hugh Nisbit			
C	Daniel Purdon	Baker		
C	Arch. Shields	Maltman		
C	John Smith	Hammerman		
C	John Wallace			
*C	William Wallace		Deacon	
			Convener	
C	John Watson	Maltman	c. Bailie	
*	Thomas Young		Water Bailie	

- NOTES**
- 1) 33 members
  - 2) 4 extra-conciliar officers
  - 3) A special election - see text (Nominated)
  - 4) 20 changes in personnel since 1668

October 1670

(Royal) Nominated Election

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	John Anderson 3			
	- Dowhill, yr			
M	William Anderson		Provost	
M	Thomas Bogle		Master of Work	
*C	Patrick Bryce	Maltman	Treasurer	
*M	John Bryson		Water Bailie	
M	John Caldwell			
M	James Campbell			
C	James Colquhoun	Wright	c. Bailie	
C	Alexr Eglinton			
C	Andrew Elphinstone			
C	James Fairie		Bailie of Gorbals	
C	John Findlay	Maltman		
M	Peter Gemmill			
C	John Gilchrist			
M	John Gilhagie			
C	Alexr Govan	Glover		
M	William Gray			
M	Frederick Hamilton		Bailie	
M	John Johnston			
C	John Liston			
M	Donald McGilchrist			
M	Robert McUre			
C	John Miller	Maltman		
M	Hugh Nisbit		Bailie	
M	James Pollok			
M	Robert Rae		Dean of Guild	
-C	Robert Ralston	Gardener	Visitor of Gardeners	
C	Thomas Scott			
M	John Walkinshaw			
C	William Wallace			
C	Henry Watt			
C	John Wood			

- NOTES**
- 1) 31 members (don't count Ralston)
  - 2) 2 extra-conciliar officers
  - 3) No Visitor of Maltmen ? - None in MS. Minutes
  - 4) 24 changes in personnel since 1669

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	John Anderson			
M	William Anderson		Provost	
M	Thomas Bogle		Master of Work	
C	Archibald Boyle			
*C?	John Braidie		Treasurer	
C	Patrick Bryce	?		
M	John Bryson		Water Bailie	
M	John Caldwell		Bailie	
C	James Colquhoun	Wright		
C	Alexr Eglinton			
C	Andrew Elphinstone			
C	James Fairie		Deacon Convener	
C	John Findlay	Maltman		
M	Peter Gemmill			
M	Walter Gibson			
C	John Gilchrist			
M	John Gilhagie			
C	Alexr Govan	Glover		
M	William Gray			
M	Frederick Hamilton			
M	John Johnston			
C	John Liston			
M	Donald McGilchrist		Gorbals Bailie	
M	Robert McUre			
C	John Miller	Maltman		
M	Hugh Nisbit			
M	Robert Rae		Bailie	
M	John Walkinshaw		Dean of Guild	
C	William Wallace		c. Bailie	
C	John Wood			

- NOTES**
- 1) 30 members on Council
  - 2) 1 extra-conciliar officer
  - 3) William Hutcheson, Visitor of Gardeners (N.I.C.) not listed here
  - 4) Visitor of Maltmen - None in MS. Minutes
  - 5) 5 changes in personnel since 1670

October 1672

Virtually Free Election with Leighton's approval

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Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	John Anderson <sup>4</sup>			
M	John Anderson <sup>2</sup>			
	- Dowhill, elder			
M	John Anderson <sup>3</sup>			
	- Dowhill, yr			
M	William Anderson		Provost	
C	Archibald Bogle			
*	Thomas Bogle		Master of Work	
*	John Braidie		Water Bailie	
C	Patrick Bryce	?	Deacon	
			Convener	
M	John Bryson			
M	John Caldwell			
C	James Colquhoun	Wright		
C	Alexr Eglinton			
C	Andrew Elphinstone			
C	James Fairie		craft Bailie	
C	John Findlay	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen & M Bailie	
M	Peter Gemmill			
M	Walter Gibson			
C	John Gilchrist			
M	John Gilhagie			
C	Alexr Govan	Glover		
M	William Gray			
C	John Hall	Surgeon		
M	Frederick Hamilton			
M	John Johnston, yr			
C	John Liston			
M	Donald McGilchrist		Bailie	
M	Robert McUre			
M	Hugh Nisbit			
M	Robert Rae			
*C	Simeon Tennent	Tailor	Treasurer	
*M	John Walkinshaw		Dean of Guild	
			Gorbals	
C	William Wallace		Bailie	
C	John Wood			

- NOTES
- 1) 33 members
  - 2) 4 extra-conciliar members
  - 3) 1 change (all-time low) from 1671

October 1673

Virtually Free Election - similar to 1672

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	John Anderson, yr			
M	John Anderson <sup>2</sup>			
	- Dowhill, elder			
M	John Anderson <sup>3</sup>			
	- Dowhill, yr			
M	William Anderson		Provost	
M	Thomas Bogle		Master of Work	
C	Archibald Boyle			
*	John Braidie		Water Bailie	
*C	Patrick Bryce		Deacon	
			Convener	
*M	John Bryson		Treasurer	
M	John Caldwell		Dean of Guild	
C	James Colquhoune	Wright		
C	Alexr Eglinton			
C	Andrew Elphinstone			
C	James Fairie			
C	John Findlay	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen	
M	Peter Gemmill			
M	Walter Gibson			
M	John Gilhagie			
C	Alexr Govan			
M	William Gray			
C	John Hall	Surgeon	craft Bailie	
M	John Johnston			
C	John Liston			
M	Donald McGilchrist			
M	Robert McUre		Gorbals Bailie	
M	Hugh Nisbit		Bailie	
M	Robert Rae			
C	Simeon Tennent	Tailor		
C	John Waddrop	Cordiner		
M	John Walkinshaw		Bailie	
C	William Wallace			
C	John Wood			

- NOTES** 1) 32 members  
 2) 3 extra-conciliar members  
 3) 2 changes from personnel elected 1672

October 1674

Nominated Election

Rank	Name	Trade	Office	Party - if relevant
M	John Anderson		Bailie	
M	John Anderson <sup>2</sup> , late Provost - Dowhill elder			
M	Ninian Anderson			
M	John Barnes, elder			
M	John Barnes, yr			
M	John Bell		Provost	
M	Mr. Patrick Bell			
M	Colin Campbell <sup>3?</sup>			
*	George Campbell		Master of Work	
M	James Campbell			
M	Robert Campbell, yr			
C	James Colquhoun	Wright		
C	Colin Crawford			
C	George Grahame			
M	Frederick Hamilton		Dean of Guild	
C	James Hutcheson			
M	George Johnston			
M	John Johnston		Bailie	
M	James Kerr		Gorbals Bailie	
C	William Liddell	Wright		
*C	Matthew McCaulay	Maltman	Visitor of Maltmen	
M	Marcus Marshall			
C	John Miller, late Deacon Convener	Tailor	? ) Water ) Bailie	
C	John Miller	Maltman	? )	
C	Thomas Miller	Wright		
M	Hugh Nisbit			
C	Daniel Purdon	Baker		
C	Mr. David Sharp	Surgeon		
C	Archibald Shields	Maltman	Treasurer	
C	John Smith	Hammerman		
C	William Spalding	Tailor		
*C	William Wallace		Deacon Convener	

- NOTES 1) 32 members  
 2) 3 extra-conciliar officers  
 3) 26 changes from personnel elected 1673

Little change 1675

Appendix II      Set commodity prices in Glasgow, 1638-90

Comments	Date	Bread per lb.	Ale per pint	Beer per pint	Tallow per tron stone	Candle per troy stone
	24 Oct. 1638	1/5d	1/4d	1/8d	46/8d	53/4d
	26 Oct. 1639	-	1/4d	1/8d	46/0d	53/4d
	24 Oct. 1640	1/0d	1/4d	1/8d	46/0d	53/4d
	16 Oct. 1641	1/3d	1/8d	2/0d	46/8d	53/4d
	22 Oct. 1642	-	-	-	48/0d	56/0d
	1643	-	-	-	-	-
	18 Jul. 1644	-	1/4d	-	-	-
	19 Oct. 1644	-	1/8d	-	-	48/0d
	3 Nov. 1645	-	2/0d	2/4d	43/4d	50/0d
	1646	-	-	-	-	-
	19 Oct. 1647	1/6d	2/0d	2/4d	-	80/0d
late harvest	21 Oct. 1648	2/0d	2/0d	2/4d	60/0d	66/8d
	20 Oct. 1649	2/0d	2/0d	2/4d	60/0d	66/8d
dearest) bread )	26 Oct. 1650	2/8d	2/4d	-	56/0d	64/0d
	11 Oct. 1651	2/8d	-	3/0d	60/0d	68/0d
	18 Apr. 1652	-	2/8d	3/0d	-	-
	16 Oct. 1652	-	2/8d	3/0d	50/0d	58/0d
	1653	-	-	-	-	-
	7 Oct. 1654	-	1/8d	2/0d	50/0d	58/0d
	Oct & Nov., 1655	-	2/0d	2/4d	56/8d	66/8d
*	20 Oct. 1656	-	-	-	46/8d	53/4d
	7 Nov. 1657	-	-	-	40/0d	48/0d
	23 Oct. 1658	1/5d	-	-	46/8d	55/0d
**	23 Oct. 1659	1/5d	-	-	46/0d	54/0d
***	31 Dec. 1659	-	-	-	54/0d	60/0d
	20 Oct. 1660	-	-	-	46/0d	54/0d
	10 Nov. 1660	-	-	-	48/0d	56/0d
	12 Oct. 1661	1/5d	-	-	50/0d	58/0d
	24 Oct. 1662	1/5d	-	-	50/0d	58/0d
	24 Oct. 1663	1/7d	-	-	50/0d	58/0d
cheapest) bread )	15 Oct. 1664	1/0d	-	-	46/0d	54/0d
sharp) rise )	14-28 Oct., 1665	1/7d	-	-	48/0d	56/0d
	20 Oct. 1666	1/0d	-	-	40/0d	48/0d
	12 Oct. 1667	1/2d	-	-	48/0d	54/0d
	17 Oct. 1668	1/3d	-	-	40/0d	48/0d
	25 Oct. 1669	1/2d	-	-	40/0d	48/0d
	29 Oct. 1670	1/3d	-	-	40/0d	48/0d
	21 Oct. 1671	1/6d	-	-	41/8d	48/0d
	12 Oct. 1672	1/3d	-	-	41/4d	48/0d
	11 Oct. 1673	1/2d	-	-	41/4d	48/0d

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\*      Ale and Beer costing abandoned.  
\*\*      Commencement of new bread-costing system.  
\*\*\*     Rise in tallow-rate - pet. from fleshers.

Comments	Date	Bread per lb.	Ale per pint	Beer per pint	Tallow per tron stone	Candle per troy stone
*	20 Jun.1674	-	-	-	-	-
	17 Oct.1674	1/11d	-	-	46/8d	53/4d
	16 Oct.1675	1/11d	-	-	48/0d	56/0d
	16 Oct.1676	1/2d	-	-	48/0d	53/4d
**	17 Mar.1677					
***	13 Oct.1677	1/2d	-	-	50/0d	58/0d
	12 Oct.1678	1/3d	-	-	50/0d	56/8d
	8 Oct.1679	1/4d	-	-	50/0d	58/0d
	23 Oct.1680	1/2½d	-	-	50/0d	58/0d
	23 Oct.1681	1/4d	-	-	43/8d	53/4d
	14 Oct.1682	1/3d	-	-	40/0d	46/8d
	13 Oct.1683	1/4d	-	-	40/0d	48/0d
	27 Oct.1684	1/5d	-	-	44/0d	50/8d
	19 Oct.1685	1/3d	-	-	46/0d	52/0d
****	24 Jul.1686					
	9 Nov.1686	1/3d	-	-	48/0d	54/8d
+	4 Apr.1687					
	12 Nov.1687	1/3d	-	-	46/8d	53/4d
++	17 Jan.1688					
+++	8 Sep.1688					
	30 Oct.1688	1/2d	-	-	46/8d	53/4d
	12 Oct.1689	1/2½d	-	-	48/0d	56/0d
	21 Oct.1690	1/2½d	-	-	48/0d	56/0d

### Analysis

Highest	1650-1	2/8d	2/8d	3/0d	60/0d	68/0d
Lowest	1664; 1666	1/0d	2/0d	2/4d	40/0d	46/8d
Arith. mean for each commodity		1/5d	2/3d	2/8d	46/11d	55/6d

Notes These prices were fixed annually by the magistrates after the harvest and elections; occasionally modifications were enforced throughout the year. The data comes from the printed Glasgow Records. Pricing of ale and beer seems to have been abandoned in 1656. Bread prices were standardised in 1659, with the weight of 1 shilling, and dearer, loaves varying according to the price of wheat. See also marginal comments.

- 
- \* Price to rise as wheat dear.
  - \*\* Bakers demand rise.
  - \*\*\* Bailies allow but £40 for poor quality.
  - \*\*\*\* Magistrates threaten fines for poor bread.
  - + Royal licence for malt tax.
  - ++ Further malt regulations.
  - +++ Gorbals folk won't cooperate, threatened with imprisonment.

### APPENDIX III

#### Ruling Elder participation in the Presbytery of Glasgow, 1644-54

- NOTES
1. The sources for these lists are the MSS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, held at S.R.O., T-PRES., MSS. Records of the Presbytery of Glasgow, vols. 9 Jan 1628-24 March 1647; April 1647-28 May 1651; Dec 1650-29 Sept 1654. A second sequence of entries for 1651-3 follows the last entry for 1654. This has been collated with the first run, but accuracy is still difficult to attain due to damage to the Records.
  2. A figure of 3 or more elders has been selected to indicate a high attendance, for comparative purposes.

1644

<u>Date</u>	<u>Sederunt</u>
3 Jan	Laird of Aikenhead*; John Stewart; Mr Adam Boyle
11 Jan	None
24 Jan	Mr Adam Boyle
5 Feb	None
? Feb	Mr Adam Boyle
5 Mar	Mr John Dunlop; Adam Boyle
27 Mar	Mr Adam Boyle
17 Apr	None
2 May	None
15 May	Laird of Cathcart
24 May	Mr Adam Boyle
12 Jun	Mr Adam Boyle
17 Jul	Robert Hamilton of Aikenhead
14 Aug	Laird of Cathcart
23 Sep	Robert Hamilton of Aikenhead
6 Nov	Laird of Cathcart; Mr John Dunlop; Robert Hamilton of Aikenhead
27 Nov	Laird of Cathcart
13 Dec	Cathcart; Robert Hamilton of Aikenhead

\* Robert Hamilton of Aikenhead

Analysis

<u>Meetings Traced</u>	<u>Meetings with Elders</u>	<u>High Attendance Meetings - 3+</u>
18	14	2

1645

<u>Date</u>	<u>Sederunt</u>
8 Jan	John Dunlop; John Stewart
29 Jan	None
Feb	No full meetings?
12 Mar	Laird of Cathcart? obscured ?
29 Mar	None
Apr	No full meetings?
14 May	Walter Stuart ; - obscured ?
28 May	None
11 Jun	Robert Hamilton of Aikenhead; Laird of Cathcart; John Crawford
25 Jun	Robert Hamilton of Aikenhead; John Crawford
9 Jul	Robert Hamilton of Aikenhead
16 Jul	Robert Hamilton of Aikenhead
30 Jul	None
11 Aug	"
24 Sep	"
8 Oct	"
15 Oct	"
5 Nov	"
12 Nov	"
19 Nov	"
17 Dec	"
31 Dec	"

Analysis

<u>Meetings</u>	<u>Meetings with Elders</u>	<u>High Attendance Meetings</u>
20	7	1

1646

<u>Date</u>	<u>Sederunt of Ruling Elders</u>
14 Jan	None
25 Feb	Thomas Browne
11 Mar	William Home; ? obscured
18 Mar	None
1 Apr	Thomas Browne
22 Apr	John Anderson; William Crawford; ? obscured
6 May	None
27 May	None
2 Jul	None
15 Jul	Aikenhead
5 Aug	None
19 Aug	None
2 Sep	obscured elders probably present
15 Sep	None
25 Sep	obscured elders probably present
30 Sep	William Home; Thomas Browne
16 Oct	None
30 Oct	William Home; Thomas Browne; ? James Fleming
11 Nov	Thomas Browne; William Home; ? ; James Anderson
2 Dec	Thomas Browne
23 Dec	Thomas Browne

Analysis

<u>Meetings</u>	<u>Meetings with Elders</u>	<u>High Attendance Meetings</u>
21	12	3

1647

<u>Date</u>	<u>Sederunt of Ruling Elders</u>
27 Jan	obscured - possibly William Home and Thomas Browne
10 Feb	None
24 Feb	obscured
10 Mar	William Home
24 Mar	Robert Hamilton of Aikenhead; Mr John Spreule; (1) William Home; Laird of Cathcart
n.d Apr	John Spreule
21 Apr	James Alexander; John Spreule
5 May	William Home; James Alexander
19 May	William Home; James Alexander
2 Jun	No sederunt traced, but malignants before Presbytery now.
9 Jun	James Alexander; James Fleming? obscured
18 Jun	None
7 Jul	William Home; William Lightbody
21 Jul	James Fleming of Cardaroche
8 Sep	? ; William Home; Alexr Sommerville; James Alexander
15 Sep	William Home; James Alexander; Mr William Wilson; Mr Gabriel Cunningham; Robert Aiken
22 Sep	obscured - John Spreule at least
13 Oct	William Home; James Alexander
27 Oct	William Home; James Alexander
10 Nov	None
4 Dec	William Home; James Alexander; , obscured
15 Dec	George Luke; James Alexander; John Stern?
29 Dec	Alexr Sommerville; Laird of ? ; Commissar of Glasgow [George Lockhart]

Note (1) Spreule's first appearance.

### Analysis

<u>Meetings</u>	<u>Meetings with Elders</u>	<u>High Att. Meetings (3 )</u>
22	18	6

1648

<u>Date</u>	<u>Sederunt of Ruling Elders</u>
12 Jan	George Luke; ? ; ? obscured
25 Jan	None
16 Feb	None
1 Mar	William Home; John Thomson
15 Mar	None
22 Mar	William Home; George Luke
29 Mar	Laird of Cathcart; William Home
19 Apr	Woodside ? [John Anderson of Woodside?]; William Home; John Stuart; James Alexander
17 May	Woodside?; James Alexander
23 May	James Alexander; William Home; Laird of Cathcart
21 Jun	Laird of Cathcart; George Luke
26 Jul	William Home
Gap (1)	-
25 Oct	George Porterfield; (2) William Home; James Alexander
Gap	

### Analysis

<u>Meetings</u>	<u>Meetings with Elders</u>	<u>High Attendance Meetings</u>
13	10	4

### Comments

- (1) Gap in meetings from August-October possibly caused by Engagement crisis, although the fragmented nature of the Records make it difficult to be positive on this and other breaks in continuity. No reason is obvious for the second gap between October and December.
- (2) George Porterfield's first appearance since his rise to power.

1649

<u>Date</u>	<u>Sederunt of Ruling Elders</u>
30 Jan	None
14 Feb	James Alexander; ? ; ? two obscured
7 Mar	Alex? Kincaid; William Home; John Elphinstone?
13 Apr	None
2 May	Mathew Linnie; [James Fleming of] Cardaroche
23 May (1)	William Home; John Thomsoune; Mathew Linnie
31 May	Mathew Linnie; Robert Mack
6 Jun	Mathew Linnie; William Coates; Robert Mack? ; John Grahame (2) James Hamilton
13 Jun	James Hamilton; John Grahame? ; Mathew Linnie; James Alexander
8 Aug	George Porterfield; John Grahame
15 Aug	George Porterfield; John Grahame; William Home; Mathew Linnie
22 Aug	George Porterfield; ? ; Peter Thomson? ; James Hamilton
5 Sep	George Porterfield; Mathew Linnie
19 Sep	Robert Mack; John Grahame; Mathew Linnie
26 Sep	John Grahame; Mathew Linnie; p.m. session Robert Mack; John Grahame; Mathew Linnie; Thomas Browne
10 Oct	Mathew Linnie; James Alexander; George Porterfield; Robert Mack; William Home
24 Oct	Andrew Herbertson? ; Mathew Linnie; Thomas Pettigrew
7 Nov	Mathew Linnie; Thomas Pettigrew
5 Dec	John Grahame; Thomas Camp[bell?]; Mathew Linnie; James Stevensone; Andrew Herbertson
20 Dec	Mathew Linnie; William George

### Analysis

<u>Meetings</u>	<u>Meetings with Elders</u>	<u>High Attendance Meetings</u>
20	18	12

### Notes

- (1) Lists of persons banned from the sacraments at this time.
- (2) John Grahame's first appearance in this period.

1650

<u>Date</u>	<u>Sederunt of Ruling Elders</u>
23 Jan	George Porterfield; William Home?
13 Mar	George Porterfield; William Home; Thomas Camp[bell?]; Cardaroche; Mathew Linnie; William George
Gap	Sederunts obscured, but George Porterfield and John Grahame at one meeting of unknown date.
29 May	William Home; The Commissar of Glasgow (George Lockhart)?
5 Jun	William Home; Thomas Pettigrew; John Lilywhite?; Thomas Browne
5 Jun	P.M. Mathew Linnie; Thomas Pettigrew; John Lilywhite; Andrew ? ; William Gray in Cader; John Young in that place.
12 Jun	Mr Robert Duncan; ?
19 Jun	Commissar of Glasgow? ; William Home; Mathew Linnie; William Gray; John Lilywhite; Thomas Browne; Mr Robert Duncan
3 Jul	None
Gap	None at 5 meetings
29 Oct	John Stevenson; John Lilywhite
5 Nov	John Grahame; Mr Robert Duncan
20 Nov	None
31 Dec	John Grahame, Provost; William George.

Analysis

<u>Meetings</u>	<u>Meetings with Elders</u>	<u>High Attendance Meetings</u>
17	10	3

1651

<u>Date</u>	<u>Sederunt of Ruling Elders</u>
2 Jan	John Grahame; Mr Robert Duncane; John Marshall; Robert Logan
15 Jan	John Grahame; John Marshall; Thomas Browne
26? Jan	John Grahame; Robert Mack; Robert Logan; Thomas Browne; Thomas Pettigrew
12 Feb	George Porterfield; William Home; John Marshall; John Grahame; Thomas Browne; Robert Mack; Robert Logan
26 Feb	George Porterfield
12 Mar	John Grahame; George Porterfield; William Home; Robert Duncan; Robert Logan; Thomas Pettigrew and William Gray
26 Mar	George Porterfield; Thomas Pettigrew
16 Apr	George Porterfield; Thomas Browne; Thomas Pettigrew; William Gray
14 May	None
28 May	George Porterfield; Thomas Pettigrew; Alex. Kincaid in Campsie; William Gray; Robert Logane; Thomas Browne
17 Jun	John Lilywhite; Robert Logan; John Grahame; Thomas Browne; George Porterfield; Mr Robert Duncan
20 Jun	George Porterfield; Robert Logan; Thomas Lilywhite
3 Jul	George Porterfield; Mr Robert Duncane; William Home; George Luke
20 Aug	William Home; William George; John Thomson; John Cleland
3 Sep	John Muir; John Cleland; James Armour; John Thomson; William Gray; George Porterfield; ?
16 Sep	George Porterfield; John Morrison; Thomas Patterson; John Thomson; John Young; Robert Muir
15 Oct	John Thomson; Thomas Patterson; James Armour; John Morrison; George Porterfield
5 Nov	William Gray; Aikenhead; George Porterfield
19 Nov	Aikenhead; George Porterfield; Mathew Patterson
10 Dec	John Morrison; John Thomson; Aikenhead
24 Dec	George Porterfield; Michael Patterson; ? of Campsie

Analysis

<u>Meetings</u>	<u>Meetings with Elders</u>	<u>High Attendance Meetings</u>
21	20	18

1652

<u>Date</u>	<u>Sederunt of Ruling Elders</u>
7 Jan	Laird of Aikenhead
28 Jan	George Porterfield; Aikenhead; Michael Patterson
7 Feb	George Porterfield; Aikenhead; Michael Patterson
13 Feb	George Porterfield; James Armor; Michael Patterson
3 Mar	George Porterfield; William Gray; John Gillespie; James Alexander
17 Mar	George Porterfield; William Gray; William George; John Morrison
31 Mar	George Porterfield; William Robson; Mathew Wilson; George Murdoch; John Morrison; William Gray; John Muir
5 May	Mr John Spreule; James Bell <sup>(1)</sup> ; William Anderson; James Wadrop; James Alexander; Thomas Campbell
19 May	John Grahame; Mr John Spreule; James Bell; James Wadrop; George Murdoch
10 Jun	None or obscured
16 Jun	None or obscured
7 Jul	John Grahame; Mr John Spreule; James Bell; Thomas Campbell; John Muir; Aikenhead; and 2 others obscured
22 Jul	Aikenhead; James Bell; Thomas Campbell; John Muir
4 Aug	John Grahame; Thomas Campbell; William Gillespie
11 Aug	Mr John Spreule; Aikenhead; James Stuart; Thomas Campbell; James Gray; Thomas? Macuir
25 Aug	John Grahame; Mr John Spreule; Thomas Campbell; John Gillespie; Thomas Macuir
15 Sep	Mr John Spreule; John Grahame
13 Oct	None ?
19 Oct	George Porterfield; John Grahame; James Hamilton; John Lilywhite; John Bryson
22 Oct	George Porterfield; John Grahame; Aikenhead; James Hamilton; Mr Robert Duncane; Andrew Gilson? ; Edward Robeson? ; John Bryson?
17 Nov	George Porterfield; John Grahame; Aikenhead
1 Dec	George Porterfield; Aikenhead; Mr Robert Duncan
15 Dec	George Porterfield; Thomas Campbell; Aikenhead
22 Dec	George Porterfield; John Grahame; James Hamilton
29 Dec	John Grahame; Thomas Campbell; Andrew Gilson; Edwin Robeson; Aikenhead

### Analysis

<u>Meetings</u>	<u>Meetings with Elders</u>	<u>High Attendance Meetings</u>
25	22	19

### Notes

- (1) James Bell and Bellites attempting to contest domination of Porterfieldian Ruling Elders from May-July 1652. Contemporary with rise of Bellites in Town Council March 1652.



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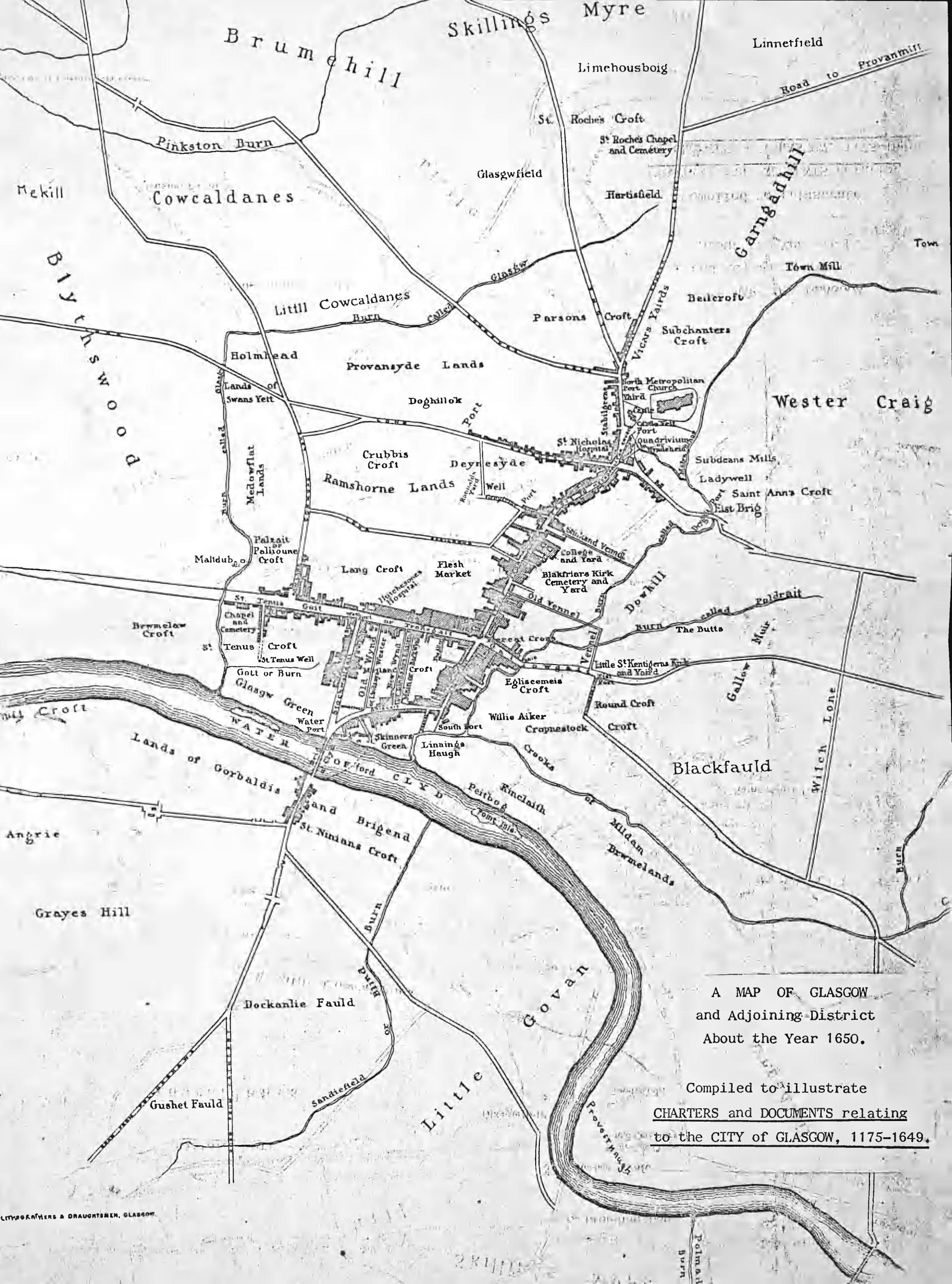
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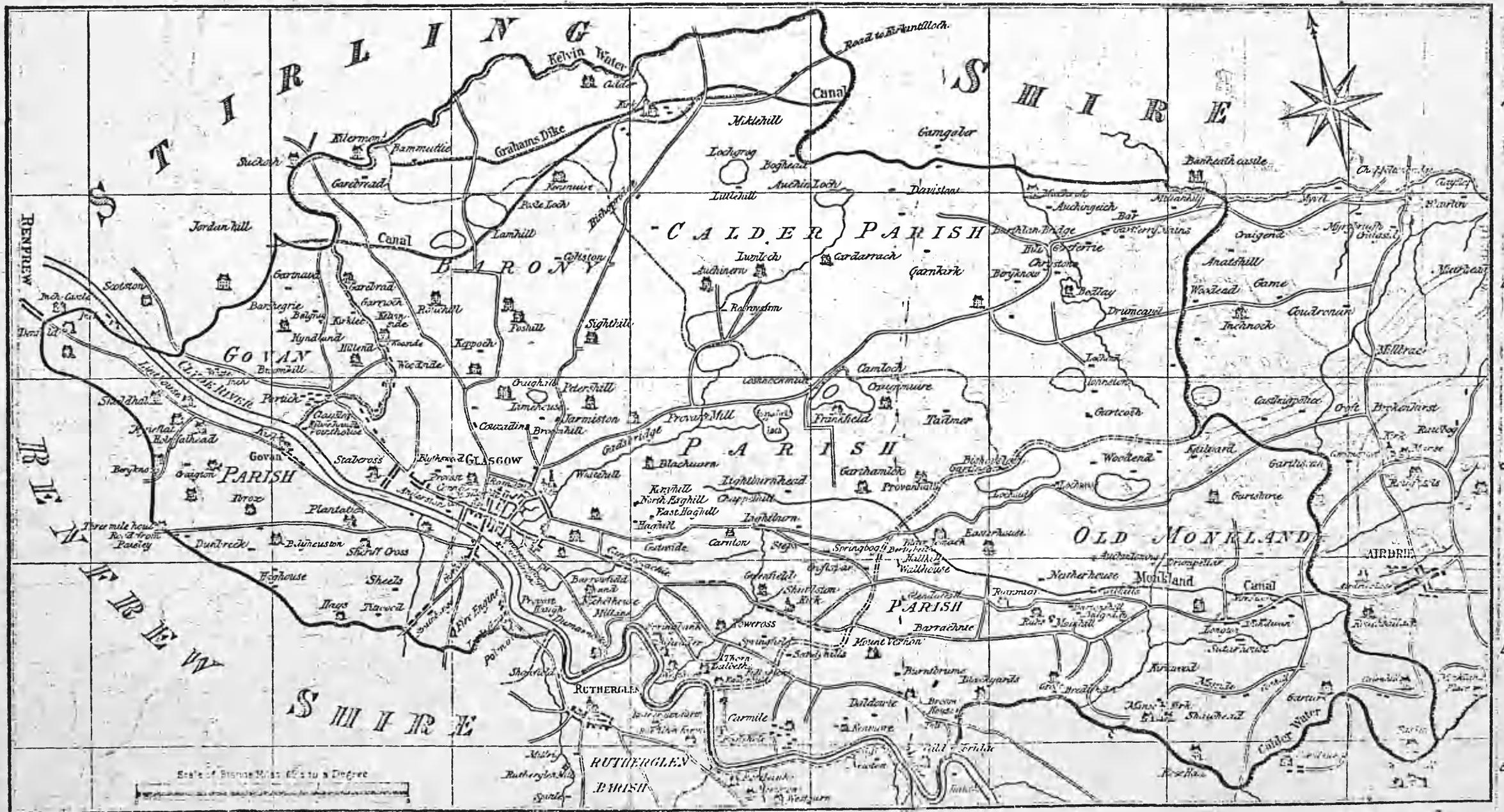


A MAP OF GLASGOW  
and Adjoining District  
About the Year 1650.

Compiled to illustrate  
CHARTERS and DOCUMENTS relating  
to the CITY of GLASGOW, 1175-1649.

PLAN OF THE BARONY AND REGALTY OF GLASGOW, 1773.

REPRODUCED FOR THE REGALTY CLUB, WITH ADDITIONS



OFFICE OF PUBLIC WORKS,  
GLASGOW. April 1905.

*M. McDonald.*